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## MARYLAND AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

By ROBERT McELROY



ANIEL WEBSTER once said: "I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."<sup>1</sup>

That Ordinance stemmed directly from one far-sighted action of Maryland which, as early as October, 1776, began planning to bring about a cession to the Union of state claims to the "territory northwest of the River Ohio," the territory for which the Ordinance of 1787 was subsequently written. The circumstances were as follows:

The war for American Independence was fought by a loose military alliance of thirteen self-governing colonies, mutually suspicious, and at times actually hostile to one another. While the

<sup>1</sup> *Works* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1853), III, 263.

menace of a powerful military antagonist was present, these colonies acted together through an improvised Continental Congress, and with a fair degree of voluntary cooperation.

As soon, however, as the victory over that military antagonist, England, was virtually won, by a combination of colonial union and foreign alliances, the colonists decided to form a "perpetual union" by means of a legal Confederation to be effected by the unanimous ratification of thirteen articles. It was to be a union of thirteen Sovereign States, each state retaining its "sovereignty, freedom, and independence," to quote the words of the Second Article.

Maryland's signature was therefore necessary before the "perpetual union" could come into legal existence. However, in November, 1776, Maryland's State Convention had resolved, "that the back lands, claimed by the British Crown, if secured by the blood and treasure of all, ought in reason, justice and policy, to be considered a common stock, to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient and independent governments."<sup>2</sup> There was in that resolution a definite hint for the establishment of a national domain: but it meant little as England still held as well as claimed the territory referred to.

On October 15, 1777, one month before the Articles of Confederation were proposed to the legislatures for ratification, it was moved in Congress, by a Maryland delegate, "that the United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and fix the western boundary of such states as claim to the Mississippi or South Sea, and lay out the land beyond the boundary, so ascertained, into separate states."<sup>3</sup>

This was a step nearer to the policy later announced by the Ordinance of 1787; but England still held the northwest territory. Before the resolution could have any practical value, it was necessary to seize the territory, which George Rogers Clark soon did, in the name of Virginia, and then to persuade Virginia, and three other states with conflicting claims to it, to cede their claims to the Union of States.

Two of Maryland's three delegates in Congress voted for the

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Matthew Page Andrew's *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, (Chicago-Baltimore: Clark Publishing Co., 1925, I. 599).

<sup>3</sup> Text, *Journals of Congress*, IX (1777), 807.

resolution, namely Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Samuel Chase. The third, William Smith, voted against it. Thus it seems quite certain that the author of the resolution was either Charles Carroll or Samuel Chase, but it seems impossible to determine from the available records which of the two deserves the credit.<sup>4</sup> And that credit is great: for this resolution was the first move ever made in Congress for securing the northwest territory as a national domain,<sup>5</sup> and definitely suggests the policy later developed in the Ordinance of 1787, namely that of employing colonies to train for self-governing states.

In November, 1777, the Old Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation and sent them to the thirteen states for ratification.<sup>6</sup>

Under December 3, 1777, the *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate* of Maryland record "a letter from the president of Congress to the Governor, and Articles of Confederation and Union between the United States, agreed to by Congress and addressed to the several legislatures for their ratification [. . .] were read, and referred to the consideration of the house of delegates, and sent by Charles Carrol, of Carrollton, Esq."

Maryland, like all the "sovereign states," was free to adhere to the proposed union or to decline to adhere. She had therefore the power to compel the cession of the northwest territory as the price of union, for it was understood that thirteen states must sign the Articles of Confederation before they could become operative.

By July, 1778, all states save New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland had signed the Articles of Confederation. New Jersey signed in November, 1778, and Delaware in May, 1779.<sup>7</sup> Thus, twelve of the thirteen states had approved the proposed union by May, 1779. Maryland, however, had now declared, through her legislature, that she would never adhere unless the states with claims to the vast wilderness territory northwest of the Ohio river, should first cede such claims to the proposed United

<sup>4</sup> The vote is recorded in the *Journals of Congress*, IX (1777), 808. The names of the delegates from Maryland are given on p. 131 of the *Journals*, Vol. VII.

<sup>5</sup> Herbert B. Adams, *Maryland's Influence in Founding a National Commonwealth*. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society (1877), p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> A. C. McLaughlin, *A Constitutional History of the United States* (N. Y.: Appleton-Century Co., 1936), p. 118; John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1889), p. 93.

<sup>7</sup> Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 599.

States of America. Her instructions to her delegates in Congress contained these words: <sup>8</sup>

. . . policy and justice require, that a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen states, should be considered as common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient and independent governments, in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct. Thus convinced, we should betray the trust reposed in us by our constituents, were we to authorize you to ratify on their behalf the Confederation, unless it be further explained. We have coolly and dispassionately considered the subject; we have weighed probable inconveniences and hardships against the sacrifice of just and essential rights; and do instruct you not to agree to the Confederation, unless an article be added thereto in conformity with our declaration; should we succeed in obtaining such article or articles, then you are hereby fully empowered to accede to the Confederation.

Maryland thus stood alone in making the cession of confused claims to "the northwest territory" a condition precedent to the formation of the United States of America. She was of course denounced as selfish: but her legislature viewed her course rather as for the good of all. In "*A Declaration*," issued by the State under date, December 15, 1778,<sup>9</sup> she argued thus:

The exclusive claim set up by some states to the whole western country, by extending their limits to the Mississippi or South Sea, is in our judgment without any solid foundation, and we religiously believe will, if submitted to, prove ruinous to this State, and to other states similarly circumstanced, and in process of time be the means of subverting the Confederation, if it be not explained by the additional article or articles proposed.

It was soon clear to the members of the Old Congress that the only way to secure the coveted "perpetual union" of the thirteen states was to yield to Maryland's demand; for they could not break her veto which was clearly within her legal rights.

Early in 1780 New York decided to yield and instructed her

<sup>8</sup> Instructions of the General Assembly of Maryland, to George Plater, William Paca, William Carmichael, John Henry, James Forbes, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Esquires; in *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland*, 1777-1781. The extract is on p. 31 of the first session of the Assembly, the October Session, 1778.

<sup>9</sup> *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland*, October Session, 1778, p. 30.

delegates in the Old Congress to cede her shadowy claim to the United States,<sup>10</sup> in order to remove the sole obstacle to the formation of a "perpetual union" of the thirteen states.

This gave hope, and on October 10, 1780, Congress increased that hope by offering to re-imburse any state for reasonable expense incurred by it in defending "the northwest." Virginia by that time had spent vast sums upon George Rogers Clark's expedition, during 1778 and 1779, which had actually wrested the territory from British control.

Connecticut now offered to cede her claims, provided she should retain jurisdiction.<sup>11</sup> Virginia then offered to cede her claims upon certain specific conditions.<sup>12</sup>

The Maryland delegation now decided that the terms specified in the instructions already quoted had been almost met. They felt definitely assured that the northwest would become the common property of the United States. They concluded, properly as events soon proved, that all states would soon follow New York's and Virginia's examples and yield their claims to the Union.

Therefore, on March 1, 1781, Maryland's delegates, John Hanson and Daniel Carroll II signed the Articles of Confederation, on behalf of Maryland, thus completing the League of Friendship and Perpetual Union. The next day, March 2, 1781, the new Congress was convened, and the history of the United States officially began. On November 5, 1781, John Hanson became the first *President of the United States*, a title given to the Presidents of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation.<sup>13</sup>

What might have happened, had Maryland not single handedly forced the cession of confused claims by individual states to "the northwest" would be only speculation. What did happen as a result of that action is history. The territory thus ceded was vast in extent, some 170 million acres. It was then practically unbroken wilderness stretching north and west of the Ohio River. It is now (1947) known as the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and parts of Michigan and Wisconsin. The Old Congress, through the Ordinance of 1787, promised that these ceded lands, called

<sup>10</sup> February 19, 1780.

<sup>11</sup> October 10, 1780.

<sup>12</sup> January 2, 1781.

<sup>13</sup> A list of the Presidents of the Continental Congress appears on p. 360 of John Fiske's *Critical Period*. John Hanson signed his name "John Hanson, President," e.g., J. Bruce Kremer, *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove* (N. Y., Albert & Charles Boni, Inc., 1938), p. 168.

in the Ordinance "the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio," should be temporarily governed by officials appointed by the new Congress, that to be established under the Constitution of 1787, and so governed as to prepare its settlers for complete self-government. It further promised that when any section of the ceded lands, so organized, "shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants," it "shall be admitted . . . into Congress . . . on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatsoever."

Since that Ordinance was ordained by the Old Congress, on July 13, 1787, it has furnished the machinery through which territories have been transformed into states, each equal to the older states in all respects. The ninth act of the First Congress under the Federal Constitution which began to operate in 1789, was a re-enactment of the Ordinance of 1787, and every Congress, so long as territories existed within the consolidated area of the United States, has made use of it. By means of its machinery, practically all the territories within the consolidated area of the United States have been converted into states, and it has operated with such precision that few Americans are conscious of the fact that the United States has become one of the world's most successful nations in the government of territorial possessions.

Meanwhile, England had adopted the idea, and had begun a similar process of converting owned colonies into self-governing dominions. The Imperial Conference report of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster of 1931 represent the apotheosis of that process, declaring dominions so formed equal in all respects to all other British Dominions, and to the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

Human achievements are always personal, because only a human personality has mind, conscience and will. It is therefore necessary to associate great events with individuals.

But human achievements are generally connected also with particular places. It is therefore natural to associate them with places.

One purpose of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities is to find the persons and the places with which her great events are associated, and to perpetuate their memory. Would it not be wise to consider Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase, the men who first introduced the idea into Congress, and

John Hanson and Daniel Carroll II, who recorded success by signing the Articles of Confederation for Maryland, as suitable figures to serve as symbols of these two great events, the acquisition of the Northwest Territory, and the Ordinance of 1787? Their homes, if still standing, or other sites with which their lives were intimately associated, would be suitable places to be marked by the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities as perpetual reminders of Maryland's great service to the Union of the States in forcing it to establish a national domain.

Massachusetts has made an effective national hero of Paul Revere, one of many minute men who prefaced the war for Independence. Virginia has done the nation a great service by preserving the home of Thomas Jefferson, one of a Committee of five patriots who drafted the Declaration of Independence. Maryland, if she wishes, may profit be their example.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES FROM THE "MARYLAND GAZETTE," 1800-1810

Contributed by GEORGE A. MARTIN

Some years ago the *Magazine* printed several installments of notices of marriages and deaths gleaned by the late Dr. Christopher Johnston from the files of the *Maryland Gazette*, of Annapolis, for the years 1728 through 1800. The four articles appeared in Vols. XVII, p. 364 and XVIII, p. 37, 150 and 273 (Dec., 1922-Sept., 1923) of this *Magazine*. The following continuation of such notices has been culled from later issues of the *Gazette*. Occasional items of general interest, not concerning Maryland, have been included. Vague generalizations and pious expressions have been omitted in a few instances. Otherwise the notices appear as printed.—EDITOR.

### 1801

DULANY, MRS. MARY—Died lately, in this city, Mrs. Mary Dulany, relict of the late Hon. Walter Dulany, formerly of this place. (Sept. 17).

### 1802

WASHINGTON, MARTHA—Departed this life at Mount Vernon on Saturday [May 22] Martha Washington, consort of General George Washington. (May 27).

### 1803

CALLAHAN, JOHN—On Saturday evening last [Oct. 26] departed this life, in the 50th year of his age, John Callahan, Esq., Register of the Land Office for the Western Shore of Maryland. (Oct. 27).

QUYNN, ALLEN—Died on Tuesday morning [Nov. 8] in the 77th year of his age, Allen Quynn, Esq., long a resident of this city, and for 25 years a member of the House of Delegates of this State. (Nov. 10).

THOMAS, PHILIP W.—Married on Thursday last, [Nov. 10] at



West River, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Mr. Philip W. Thomas, to Miss Julia Chisholm, both of this county. (Nov. 17).

THOMPSON, HENRY—Married on Sunday last [Nov. 13] at Baltimore, Mr. Henry Thompson, of this city, to Miss Mary West, of that place. (Nov. 17).

WOOD, PETER—Died yesterday morning [Dec. 7] Peter Wood, Esq., one of the Delegates for Prince George's County. (Dec. 8).

## 1804

JONES, MAJOR-GENERAL SAMUEL—Died on the 15th ult. [Jan. 15] in Port Tobacco, in the 49th year of his age, Major-General Samuel Jones, a member of the General Assembly of Maryland, for Charles County. General Jones, at an early period of his life, entered into the army at the commencement of the American struggle for liberty, and served as an officer till very near the end of the war, when imperious circumstances forced him to retire. He has for sometime passed held the commission of Major-General in the Militia of the State, and for the last four years has been a member of the House of Delegates. (Feb. 2).

BARNES, COL. RICHARD—Died on Sunday, the 29th of April, Col. Richard Barnes, of St. Mary's Co., Md. His will declares all his negroes, amounting to between three and four hundred, free three years after his death, provided they behave themselves well. (May 10).

M'GILL, ROBERT—Married on Thursday evening [May 21] by the Rev. Mr. Lane, Mr. Robert M'Gill, of Prince George's Co., to Miss Helen Stockett, of South River. (June 28).

SELLMAN, LEONARD—Married on Sunday evening last [June 24] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbotham, Leonard Sellman, Esq., to Miss Mary Rankin. (June 28).

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER—On Saturday last, the remains of Alexander Hamilton were committed to the grave with every possible testimony of respect and sorrow. (July 19).

DAVID, DAVIDSON—Died on the 26th ult. [July] at Elkton, Davidson David, Esq., one of the Council of this State. (Aug. 2).

SIMMONS, WILLIAM—Married on Sunday, the 23rd [Sept.] near Herring Creek, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Mr. William Simmons, to Miss Matilda Tillard, daughter of Major Thomas Tillard. (Oct. 4).

ANDERSON, JAMES, SR.—Died on the morning of the first inst. [Oct.] James Anderson, Senior, an old resident of this county, in the 79th year of his age. (Oct. 4).

STONE, GENERAL JOHN HOSKINS—On Friday last, [Oct. 5] departed this life, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, General John Hoskins Stone. Early in life, and at an early period of the American Revolution, he appeared in the great theatre of action that then opened, as a Captain in the celebrated regiment of Smallwood, and highly distinguished himself at the battles of Long Island, White Plains, and Princeton. At the battle of Germantown, he received a wound that deprived him of bodily activity for the remainder of life. In this situation the powers of his mind did not remain inactive; they were steadily and diligently exercised in the same cause for which he had fought and bled, and as a representative of his native county of Charles, and as a member of the Executive Council, he continued to serve his country until he was promoted to the highest station reserved by our constitution for Maryland. In 1794 he was elected Governor of Maryland. (Oct. 11).

BROWN, DOCTOR GUSTAVUS RICHARD—Departed this life on the 27th of September last, at his seat in Charles Co., near Port Tobacco, in the 68th year of his age, Doctor Gustavus Richard Brown. (Oct. 18).

PINKNEY, JONATHAN—Married on Sunday evening last [Oct. 28] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Mr. Jonathan Pinkney, of Baltimore, to Mrs. Rebecca Davidson, of this city. (Nov. 1).

TAYLOR, GAMALIEL—Married on Sunday evening last [Oct. 28] by the Rev. Mr. Williston, Mr. Gamaliel Taylor, to Miss Euphen Bruce, both of this city. (Nov. 8).

WILLIAMSON, JAMES—Married on Thursday evening last, [Dec. 20] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Mr. James Williamson, to Miss Maria Tuck, both of this city. (Dec. 27).

GHISELIN, DR. REVERDY—Married on Tuesday evening [Dec. 25]

by the Rev. Mr. Duke, Dr. Reverdy Ghiselin, one of the honourable council of this State, to Miss Margaret Bowie, daughter of his Excellency, the Governor. (Dec. 27).

1805

BICKNELL, THOMAS—Married on Sunday last, [Jan. 20] by the Rev. Mr. Ridgely, Thomas Bicknell, to Mrs. Julia Clarke, both of this city. (Jan. 24).

RICE, PETER—Died yesterday morning [Jan. 30] at the house of Mr. Lloyd M. Lowe, in this city, Peter Rice, one of the members of the House of Delegates, from Caroline Co. (Jan. 31).

HARWOOD, HENRY HALL—Married on Thursday evening last, [Feb. 14] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbotham, Henry Hall Harwood Esq., to the amiable Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, both of this city. (Feb. 21).

DEALE, CAPTAIN JAMES—Married on Sunday last [Feb. 17] at West River, by Rev. Mr. Compton, Captain James Deale, to Miss Mary Franklin. (Feb. 21).

KEITH, MRS. ANNE—Died on Monday morning last [Feb. 18] in an advanced age, Mrs. Anne Keith. (Feb. 21).

BAYLY, MRS. LEAH—Died at Cambridge, on Monday, the 4th, Mrs. Leah Bayly, consort of Josiah Bayly. (Feb. 21).

WHEELER, THOMAS—Married on Saturday evening last [Feb. 23] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Thomas Wheeler, to Miss Anne Hutton. (Feb. 28).

RIGBY, JAMES—Married on Thursday evening last [April 18] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, James Rigby, to Miss Anne Johnson. (April 25).

DUCKETT, JOHN B.—Died on April 10, in Prince George's Co., John B. Duckett, Clerk of the House of Delegates of this State. (April 25).

MIDDLETON, WILLIAM—Died on April 12 at his residence on Pool's Island, William Middleton, in the 19th year of his age. (April 25).

TILDEN, MRS. LOUISA HARVEY—Died at Baltimore, on Sunday evening last [April 28] Mrs. Louisa Harvey Tilden, wife of Doctor Tilden, of Kent Co., Md., and third daughter of Samuel Harvey Howard, of this city. (May 2).

BRYCE, JOHN R.—Died on Saturday morning last [May 4] in the 34th year of his age, John R. Bryce, of this city. (May 9).

CLEMENTS, MISS ELIZABETH—Died on Thursday night last [May 30], Miss Elizabeth Clements, of this city. (June 6).

MURRAY, JOHN—Died at Glasgow, in March last, John Murray, Consul of the United States. (June 6).

BEDFORD, WILLIAM TURNER—Married on Sunday evening last [June 9] by the Rev. Mr. Duke, William Turner Bedford, of Baltimore, to Miss Julia Wisham, of this city. (June 13).

CARR, BENJAMIN—Married on Sunday, the 16th inst., near Herring Creek Church, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Benjamin Carr, of Pig Point, to Miss Kitty Welch, of Portland Manor. (June 27).

HANSON, ALEXANDER C., JR.—Married on Monday evening last [June 25] in this city, by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Alexander C. Hanson, Jun., to Miss Priscilla Dorsey. (June 27).

FORREST, GENERAL URIAH—Died on Saturday [July 6] at his seat near Georgetown, General Uriah Forrest. On the next day his remains were deposited in the Protestant Episcopal Burying Ground of that place. He embarked in early life in the Revolutionary War, and served with distinction until the Battle of Germantown, in which he sacrificed more than a limb to his country. Fated ever after to support himself upon crutches, and to be a prey to the evils of impaired health, his active and intelligent mind rose superior to misfortune, and his life has been equally distinguished by honourable and useful enterprise. (July 18).

LATIMER, RANDOLPH B.—Died at his plantation in Charles County, on Monday evening [July 8], Randolph B. Latimer. (July 18).

STONE, ROBERT COULDEN—Married on Tuesday evening last [July 23] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Robert Coulden Stone, to Miss Mary Mann, both of this city. (July 25).

RINGGOLD, MISS MARY—Died in this city, on Sunday morning last [Aug. 11] Miss Mary Ringgold, of Washington Co. (Aug. 15).

WILMER, JONATHAN—Departed this life at Baltimore on Tuesday [Aug. 22] Jonathan Wilmer, a native of this State. He had

returned a few weeks since from Charleston, S. C., for his health. (Aug. 29).

WILLIAMSON, MRS. MARIA—Died on Monday last [Oct. 14] Mrs. Maria Williamson, of this city. (Oct. 17).

DAVIS, MRS. SARAH—Died on Saturday morning last [Oct. 19] in the 86th year of her age, Mrs. Sarah Davis, of South River. (Oct. 24).

GASSAWAY, MRS.—Departed this life, Mrs. Gassaway, of Elk-Ridge. (Oct. 31).

MARRIOTT, MR. RICHARD—Died on Monday last [Oct. 28] Mr. Richard Marriott, an inhabitant of this county. (Oct. 31).

GARDINER, JOHN M.—Married on Friday evening last [Nov. 1] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbotham, John M. Gardiner, of the U. S. Navy, to Miss Sophia Gassaway, of this city. (Nov. 7).

MAGRUDER, ALEXANDER C.—Married on Tuesday, Nov. 14, at Frederick-town, by the Rev. George Bower, Alexander C. Magruder, of this city, to Miss Rebecca Thomas, daughter of Dr. Philip Thomas, of that place. (Nov. 28).

CAGGS, JOHN—Died on Wednesday [Nov. 20] at Hammond's Ferry, John Craggs, in the 68th year of his age. (Nov. 28).

RIDGELY, CHARLES—Died on Monday last [Nov. 25] in this city, Charles Ridgely, in the 75th year of his age. (Nov. 28).

## 1806

WEEMS, JOHN B.—Married on Sunday last [Jan. 5] at South River, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, John B. Weems, to Miss Priscilla Harwood, daughter of Col. Richard Harwood. (Jan. 9).

SEWELL, BENJAMIN—Married on Sunday [Jan. 5] in this city, by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Benjamin Sewell, to Miss Hester Nicholson. (Jan. 16).

TANEY, ROGER B.—Married on Tuesday evening [Jan. 7] at Fredericktown, by the Rev. Mr. Zoochey, Roger B. Taney, to Miss Anne P. C. Key. (Jan. 16).

HANSON, ALEXANDER CONTEE—Died in this city, on Jan. 16, in the 56th year of his age, Alexander Contee Hanson, Chancellor of this State. (Jan. 23).

MAYNARD, JAMES PELHAM—Married on Sunday last [Jan. 26] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, James Pelham Maynard, to Miss Julia Owen, both of this city. (Jan. 30).

BRICE, MRS. MARY—Departed this life in Baltimore on Jan. 30, in the 57th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Brice, consort of John Brice of this city. (Feb. 13).

HOLLAND, JAMES—Married on Sunday evening last [Feb. 16] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, James Holland, to Miss Anne Sands, both of this city. (Feb. 20).

MERRIKEN, ROBERT—Married on Tuesday last [Feb. 18] by the Rev. Mr. Fleming, Robert Merriken, to Miss Sarah Welsh, both of Severn. (Feb. 20).

SPRIGG, RICHARD—Died on the 20th March, at Charleston, S. C., where he had gone for his health, in the 37th year of his age, Richard Sprigg, Chief Justice of the First Judicial District of this State, and late a Judge of the General Court. (March 27).

THOMPSON, JOHN—Married on Sunday [April 6] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, John Thompson, to Miss Eleanor Johnson. (April 10).

HAGNER, PETER—Married on Tuesday [April 22] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Peter Hagner, of the City of Washington, to Miss Frances Randall, of this city. (April 24).

SHIPPEN, EDWARD—Died in Philadelphia on April 15, Edward Shippen, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the 78th year of his age. (April 24).

PINKNEY, NINIAN—Married in this city on Thursday [May 1] by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Ninian Pinkney, to Mrs. Amelia Hobbs. (May 8).

PATTERSON, ROBERT—Married on May 1 by the Rev. Bishop Carroll, Robert Patterson, to Miss Mary Caton. (May 8).

BURGESS, ENOCH MAGRUDER—Married on Sunday [May 4], near Pig Point, Enoch Magruder Burgess, merchant, of that place, to Miss Sarah Lock Chew Smith. (May 8).

JOHNSON, ELISHA—Married on Sunday [May 25] by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Elisha Johnson, to Miss Anne Mills, all of Herring Creek. (May 29).

DRURY, HENRY C.—Married on May 27 by the Rev. Mr. Comp-

ton, Henry C. Drury, to Miss Eliza Mills, all of Herring Creek. (May 29).

HARWOOD, COL. RICHARD—Married on Sunday [June 1] by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Col. Richard Harwood, to Mrs. Lucinda Battee, all of Anne Arundel County. (June 5).

RICHARDS, CLEMENT—Married on June 1 by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Clement Richards, to Miss Sarah Turner. (June 5).

HANSON, MRS. REBECCA—Died on Saturday [June 21] in the 47th year of her age, Mrs. Rebecca Hanson, relict of A. C. Hanson, late Chancellor of this State. (June 26).

SHAW, MRS. MARGARET—Died on July 5, Mrs. Margaret Shaw, in the 48th year of her age. (July 10).

JAMES, SAMUEL—Died on Monday [July 7] Mr. Samuel James, of South River. (July 10).

BARBER, CHARLES—Died on Tuesday [July 22] Charles Barber, an inhabitant of this city. (July 24).

WATKINS, NICHOLAS J.—Married on Sunday [Aug. 24] at Broad Neck, on Severn, by Rev. Mr. Welch, Nicholas J. Watkins, to Miss Margaret Todd. (Aug. 28).

DENNIS, JOHN—Died in Philadelphia, on Sunday, Aug. 17, John Dennis, of Somerset County, Md., in the 35th year of his age, who for several years was a Representative in the Congress of the United States. (Aug. 28).

QUYNN, JOHN—Married at Baltimore on Aug. 26, by the Rev. Mr. Bend, John Quynn, of this city, to Miss Maria Leakin, of Baltimore. (Sept. 4).

WARREN, WILLIAM—Married on Thursday last, Aug. 28, by the Rev. Dr. Rattoone, William Warren, to Mrs. Ann Wignell, both of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Theatres. (Sept. 4).

STEWART, RICHARD—Died on Sept. 7, Mr. Richard Stewart, of South River. (Sept. 18).

THOMAS, PHILIP W.—Married on Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Compton, Philip W. Thomas to Miss Rebecca Waters, of Anne Arundel Co. (Sept. 25).

DUCKETT, THOMAS—Died on Tuesday [Dec. 2] Thomas Duckett, one of the Senate of this place. (Dec. 4).

1807

WILLIAMSON, CAPTAIN CHARLES—Died in Calvert Co., on Jan. 23, Captain Charles Williamson, in the 59th year of his age. (Jan. 29).

DAVIDSON, GENERAL JOHN—Died in Baltimore on Monday [Feb. 2] General John Davidson, an old inhabitant of this city. His remains were brought here and interred with military honors. (Feb. 5).

WOODWARD, WILLIAM—Died on Feb. 5, at his farm in Anne Arundel Co., Mr. William Woodward, Sen., in the 68th year of his age. (Feb. 12).

SHAW, DR. JOHN—Married on Thursday [Feb. 12] by the Rev. Mr. Gibson, Dr. John Shaw, to Miss Jane Selby. (Feb. 19).

KEMP, JOSEPH—Married on Sunday [Feb. 15] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Joseph Kemp, to Miss Frances Richards. (Feb. 19).

GWINN, JOHN, JR.—Died at Fell's Point, Baltimore, on Feb. 11, John Gwinn, Jun., of this city, in the 51st year of his age, leaving a wife and six children. (Feb. 19).

GEDDES, CAPTAIN DAVID—Died on Friday [March 6] at Baltimore, Capt. David Geddes, an old inhabitant of Fell's Point. (March 12).

DUVALL, WILLIAM—Married on Sunday [March 15] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, William Duvall, to Miss Anne Tucker. (March 19).

DUVALL, EPHRAIM—Died on Saturday night [March 27] in the 65th year of his age, Ephraim Duvall, of Greenberry's Point. (April 2).

HAMMOND, WILLIAM—Died on Tuesday morning [April 30] last, in the 47th year of his age, William Hammond, of this city. (April 2).

DREW, MISS KITTY—Killed recently, Miss Kitty Drew, of Queen Anne's County, Md., having been thrown from her carriage. (April 9).

BICKNELL, ESAU—Married on Wednesday, the 8th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bower, Mr. Esau Bicknell, aged 60, to Miss Susanna Rodgers, aged 16, both of Washington County, Md. (April 16).



HOWARD, SAMUEL HARVEY—Died on Friday morning last [April 24] in the 57th year of his age, Samuel Harvey Howard, Esq., Register of the Court of Chancery of the State of Maryland. (April 30).

BOTLER, J. W.—Married at Philadelphia, on Wednesday evening, the 20th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Janeway, Mr. J. W. Botler, Pastor, of Baltimore, to Miss Margaret T. Elliott, of Philadelphia. (May 28).

REED, MISS FRANCES—Died in this city, on Friday night last [May 22] Miss Frances Reed, of Frederick County. (May 28).

DAW, SAMUEL—Married on Thursday evening last [May 28] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Samuel Daw, to Miss Elizabeth Earl, all of this city. (June 4).

WRIGHT, CAPTAIN JAMES—Married on Tuesday evening last [June 9] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Captain James Wright, of Baltimore, to Miss Anne F. Wier, of this city. (June 11).

FERGUSON, REV. COLIN—Departed this life the 10th ult., in the 53rd year of his age, at his farm in Kent County, the place of his nativity, the Rev. Colin Ferguson, D. D. late principal of Washington College. This accomplished teacher, who has so successfully explored the different regions of science, received the rudiments of his education at the University of Edinburgh, and has employed his talents for more than 30 years in the instruction of youth in his native country. The various branches of philosophy and natural history were familiar to him, and as a linguist he has seldom been equalled, having acquired a competent knowledge of the English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Erie languages. With a fancy to be captivated at the poet's song, he united an energy of intellect to solve the sublimest and most abstruse proposition in geometry. His amiable disposition in school won him the respect and affection of his pupils. He has left a widow and two children. (June 11).

FORD, PHILIP—Died on the 12th inst., in the 59th year of his age, Philip Ford, Esq., in St. Mary's County. (June 25).

WILMOT, JOHN—Died on Monday evening last [June 22] in the 54th year of his age, John Wilmot, of this city. (June 25).

SANDS, JOHN—Died, this morning [July 2] in the 45th year of his age, Mr. John Sands, of this city. (July 2).

HUGHES, JEREMIAH—Married on Thursday last [July 9] at South River, by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, Mr. Jeremiah Hughes, to the amiable Miss Priscilla Jacob. ((July 16).

BLACKBURN, COL. THOMAS—Died on the 17th inst., at Rippon Lodge, his seat in Virginia, Col. Thomas Blackburn, an old Revolutionary Patriot. (July 30).

KILTY, MRS. ELIZABETH—Departed this life on Wednesday the 21st inst., Mrs. Elizabeth Kilty, consort of William Kilty, Esq., Chancellor of Maryland. (Oct. 29).

DAVIDSON, JAMES, JR.—Married at Baltimore on Thursday evening last [Nov. 5] at Daniel Delozier's Esq., by the Rev. Mr. Bend, James Davidson, Jr., Esq., of Washington City, to Miss Mary Higinbothom, of Baltimore. (Nov. 12).

SMITH, CLEMENT—Married at Baltimore, on Thursday evening [Nov. 12] by the Rev. Dr. Whitehead, Clement Smith, merchant, (Georgetown Potowmack) to Miss Margaretta Clare Brice, daughter of John Brice, Esq., of that city. (Nov. 19).

BOWLEY, DANIEL—Departed this life on Thursday, the 19th inst., Daniel Bowley, Esq., of Furley. (Nov. 19).

HIGGINS, RICHARD—Departed this life on Tuesday morning last [Nov. 17] in the 63rd year of his age, Mr. Richard Higgins, an inhabitant of this county. ((Nov. 19).

MIDDLETON, WILLIAM—Died at St. Jago de Cuba, Oct. 14, William Middleton, first officer of the schooner Linnett, of Baltimore. (Dec. 10).

TILGHMAN, JOHN—Married on Tuesday evening last [Dec. 22] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. John Tilghman, of Talbot County, to the amiable and truly engaging Miss Maria Gibson, daughter of John Gibson, Esq., of this city. (Dec. 24).

GALE, JOHN—Departed this life on the 28th inst., John Gale, Esq., in the 47th year of his age. Mr. Gale was a delegate from Kent County, and was in the discharge of the important duties of legislation. (Dec. 31).

1808

- WELLS, MRS. SUSAN—Departed this life on Thursday the 4th inst., Mrs. Susan Wells, consort of William Wells, merchant, of this city, in the 48th year of her age. (Feb. 11).
- HANLON, DAVID—Married on Sunday evening last [Feb. 27] at Hacket's Point, by the Rev. Mr. Higinbothom, Mr. David Hanlon, of this city, to Miss Harriet Moss, daughter of James Moss, of that place. (March 3).
- LA FAYETTE, MADAM—Died at Paris, on Dec. 24, 1807, last Madam LaFayette. (March 3).
- RINGGOLD, JAMES—Married on Monday evening last [April 4] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. James Ringgold, of Kent Island, to Miss Elizabeth Slemaker, of this city. (April 7).
- CHRISTIE, GABRIEL—Died at Baltimore, on Friday morning last, [April 1] in the 51st year of his age, Gabriel Christie, Esq., Collector of that port. (April 7).
- HARRIS, ISAAC—Died in this city on Monday last [April 4] in the 78th year of his age, Mr. Isaac Harris. (April 7).
- MAYNARD, SAMUEL—Married on Thursday evening last [May 12] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. Samuel Maynard, to Miss Anne Callahan, both of this city. (May 19).
- HEPBURN, DOCTOR SAMUEL—Died suddenly at Upper Marlborough, on the 11th inst., in the 26th year of his age, Doctor Samuel Hepburn. (May 19).
- MAGRUDER, MRS. NANCY H.—Died on Tuesday the 31st ult. [May], Mrs. Nancy H. Magruder, wife of John Read Magruder, Jun., of Prince George's County. (June 9).
- BROWN, WILLIAM—Died on the 24th inst. [June] at the seat of his son in St. Mary's County, Mr. William Brown, for many years a respectable inhabitant of this city. (July 7).
- WARREN, MRS. ANN—Died at Alexandria on the 28th ult. [June] Mrs. Ann Warren, consort of William Warren, manager of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Theatres. (July 7).
- DORSEY, RICHARD—Died on Saturday morning last [June 29] at his plantation near this city, Mr. Richard Dorsey, in the 39th year of his age. He has left a wife and five small children. (Aug. 4).

RANDALL, MISS M.—Died on Tuesday evening the 26th ult. [July] Miss M. Randall, of this city. (Aug. 4).

PORTER, CAPTAIN DAVID—Died on June 24, at New Orleans, Captain David Porter, of Baltimore. (Aug. 11).

MAYER, HENRY ERNST—Married on Sunday evening last [Aug. 14] at Pleasant Plains, by the Rev. Mr. Higinbotham, Mr. Henry Ernst Mayer, of Georgetown, to Miss Mary Grammer, daughter of Frederick Grammer, of this city. (Aug. 11).

RICHARDS, CLEMENT—Died on Sunday morning last [Aug. 14] Mr. Clement Richards, an old Revolutionary soldier. He was buried on Monday afternoon with the honours of war. (Aug. 11).

RIDOUT, MRS. MARY—Died on Sunday [Aug. 14], Mrs. Mary Ridout. Her remains, were on Monday last, conveyed to Whitehall, there to be interred. (Aug. 11).

WILLIGMAN, CHARLES HENRY—Married on Thursday evening last [Aug. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Charles Henry Willigman, to Miss Catharine Jackson. (Sept. 1).

LUSBY, JAMES—Departed this life on Wednesday the 7th ult., Mr. James Lusby, of this city, in the 35th year of his age. (Sept. 8).

BARNEY, WILLIAM B.—Married at Princeton, N. J., on the 9th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Comfort, William B. Barney, to Miss Mary Chase, daughter of the Hon. Judge Chase, all of Baltimore. (Sept. 22).

WARFIELD, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Thursday morning the 8th inst., Mrs. Elizabeth Warfield, consort of Dr. Charles Alexander Warfield, of Anne Arundel Co. (Sept. 22).

COOK, JAMES—Married on Thursday evening, the 22d inst., by the Rev. Nicholas Chambers, the Rev. James Cook, minister of the gospel, aged 60 years, to the amiable and much esteemed Miss Rebecca Chambers, aged 16 years, of Cecil County, State of Maryland. (Sept. 29).

PAINE, MRS.—Died on Sunday morning, the 18th inst., at her father's house at Cranbrook, in the 68th year of her age, Mrs. Paine, wife of Thomas Paine, author of "The Rights of Man." (Sept. 29).

- COLLINSON, WILLIAM—Married on Thursday evening last [Sept. 29] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, William Collinson, of West River, to Miss Elizabeth Whittington, of this city. (Oct. 6).
- CASSEL, REV. LEONARD—Died at Baltimore on Monday the 26th ult., [Sept.] in the 24th year of his age, Rev. Leonard Cassel, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Fell's Point. His remains were interred in the Methodist burying ground in the city on Tuesday. (Oct. 6).
- HODGES, BENJAMIN—Married on Thursday evening last [Oct. 13] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Benjamin Hodges, of Prince George's County, to Miss Elizabeth Jenings, of this city. (Oct. 20).
- TUCK, WASHINGTON—Married on Sunday evening last [Oct. 16] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Washington Tuck, of this city, to Miss Elizabeth Lee, of Anne Arundel County. (Oct. 20).
- DUVALL, SAMUEL—Married on Thursday last [Oct. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Scott, Samuel Duvall, of Severn, to Miss Mary Duvall, daughter of Mr. Marden Duvall, of Prince George's County, Md. (Oct. 27).
- PATTERSON, WILLIAM—Died at Baltimore, on Thursday, the 20th inst., in the 29th year of his age William Patterson, Jun., of the house of Wm. Patterson and Sons, of that city. (Oct. 27).
- SUET, JOHN—Died in Philadelphia, on the 10th instant, John Suet, a mariner, aged 93 years. He was a native of St. Mary's, in this State. (Oct. 27).
- PAGE, COL. JOHN—Died in Virginia, on the 11th inst., in the 65th year of his age, Col. John Page, Commissioner of Loans, and late Governor of that State. He was one of our earliest Revolutionary Patriots, and for several years a Representative in Congress. (Oct. 27).
- STEPHEN, JOHN—Married on Tuesday, evening last [Nov. 1] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, John Stephen, Esq., Attorney at Law, of Baltimore, to Miss Julianna Brice, of this city. (Nov. 3).
- HALL, THOMAS—Married at Baltimore, on Thursday evening, the 27th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Bend, Thomas Hall, Esq., of Hagerstown, to Miss Anne Pottenger, of that city. (Nov. 3).
- SNOWDEN, JOHN—Departed this life on Tuesday morning, the 1st

- inst., at his residence near the Patuxent Iron Works, John Snowden, in the seventy—— year of his age. (Nov. 3).
- CURRAN, MICHAEL—Died in this city, Michael Curran, after being thrown from his horse on Nov. 2. (Nov. 3).
- HALLAM, LEWIS—Died at Philadelphia on the 1st inst., in the 75th year of his age, Lewis Hallam, the father of the American Theatre. (Nov. 17).
- FRANKLIN, THOMAS—Married in this city on Sunday evening last [Nov. 27] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Thomas Franklin, to Miss Eliza Mackubin, daughter of John C. Mackubin, of Frederick County. (Dec. 1).
- WATKINS, ELIZABETH—Died on Sunday, the 20th [Nov.] at the seat of her father, William Hall the 3rd., Mrs. Elizabeth Watkins, of West River. (Dec. 1).
- MACKUBIN, JAMES, JR.—Married on Thursday, the 1st inst., by the Rev. Mr. Welch, James Mackubin, Jun., to Miss Mary Ann Merriken. (Dec. 15).
- WORTHINGTON, THOMAS—Married on Tuesday, the 6th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Thomas Worthington, to Miss Eliza Baldwin. (Dec. 15).
- MACKUBIN, FREDERICK—Married on Sunday last [Dec. 12] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Frederick Mackubin, to Miss De Auchbrune. (Dec. 15).
- POTTS, RICHARD—Died in Frederick-town, Richard Potts. (Dec. 15).
- LEVY, MRS. ANNE—Died in Baltimore on Thursday last [Dec. 8] in the 23d year of her age, Mrs. Anne Levy, wife of Jacob Levy, and daughter of Mrs. Jane Maggs, of that city. (Dec. 15).
- TUCKER, SEELY—Died on Thursday last [Dec. 8] Captain Seely Tucker. (Dec. 15).
- GAITHER, MRS. ANNE—Died on Monday [Dec. 12] at an advanced age, Mrs. Anne Gaither. (Dec. 15).
- MURRAY, DANIEL—Married at Baltimore on the 8th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bend, Daniel Murray, of the U. S. Navy, to Miss Mary Dorsey, of Baltimore.
- GETTY, ROBERT—Married in this city, on Tuesday evening last

[Dec. 27] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Robert Getty, of Georgetown, to the amiable Miss Margaret Wilmot, of this city. (Dec. 29).

1809

NIXON, JOHN—Died in Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 31st ult., [Dec. 1808] aged 75 years, John Nixon, Esq., President of the Bank of North America, and one of the oldest and most respectable merchants of that city. (Jan. 11).

ORONO, MADAM—Died in Penobscot River, Madam Orono, aged 115 years, relict of Orono, late Chief of the Penobscot Indians, who died a few years since at the age of 110. (Feb. 1).

WASHINGTON, GEORGE S.—Died suddenly on Tuesday night, 16th ult., [Jan.] in Augusta, George S. Washington, Esq., of Virginia, nephew of the late President Washington, in the 37th year of his age. His remains were deposited in St. Paul's Churchyard, attended by the volunteers companies of Augusta, by the city council, and a crowd of citizens, who assembled to pay the last tribute of respect to an officer, to a man of worth, and to a member of that family, which will ever be highly venerated by the American people. (Feb. 8).

SMITHSON, WILLIAM—Died lately at his seat in Harford, the Honorable William Smithson, of the Senate of Maryland. (Feb. 8).

TRUEMAN, CAPT. JOHN—Died in this city on Saturday last [Feb. 4], Capt. John Trueman, an old Revolutionary officer. His remains were interred on Monday with military honors. (Feb. 8).

CHILDS, HENRY—Married on Thursday evening the 16th inst., at Sotterley, St. Mary's Co., by the Rev. Mr. Ralph, Mr. Henry Childs, of Queen-Anne, Prince George's Co., to Miss Mary Tootle, of this city. (Feb. 22).

GWINN, JOHN—Departed this life on Friday night last, [Feb. 23] in the 54th year of his age, John Gwinn, Esq., of this city, Clerk to the late General Court. (March 1).

SHAW, DR. JOHN—Died on Jan. 10, on his passage from Charleston, S. C., to the Bahama Islands, for his health, Dr. John Shaw, Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College of Baltimore, aged 31 years. (March 22).

WATSON, WILLIAM—Died on Monday evening last [March 20], Mr. William Watson, in the 26th year of his age. (March 22).

HEBB, WILLIAM—Married on Tuesday, the 21st inst., by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, William Hebb, to the amiable Miss Sarah Bailly, both of St. Mary's Co. (March 29).

HOOE, ROBERT TOWNSHEND—Departed this life at Alexandria on Thursday evening, the 16th inst., Robert Townshend Hooe, in the 66th year of his age. At an early period of his life, and at a time when it became necessary to call forth the talents of the country, he was selected as a member of the Maryland Convention. In the character of a delegate he soon evinced the superiority of his mind, and by a faithful and unremitted attention to the important duties which devolved upon him, acquired universal respect and confidence. At the commencement of the year 1776 he received from the Maryland Convention the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel of the 12th Battalion, belonging to the State. In his military as well as civil capacity, his conduct was equally honourable to himself and serviceable to his country. Upon the establishment of our independence, he resumed the character of a private citizen, and zealously attached to the interests of his country, continued a uniform supporter of those principles by which her independence had been acquired. (March 29).

HOWARD, JOSEPH—Married on Tuesday evening, the 4th inst., near Queen-Anne, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, Mr. Joseph Howard, of Anne Arundel Co., to Miss Elizabeth Susannah Bowie, of Prince George's Co. (April 12).

PARKERSON, WILLIAM—Married in this city on the 4th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Mr. William Parkerson, to Miss Sarah Purdy. (April 12).

THOMAS, PHILIP—Died at Rockland, Cecil Co., on the evening of the 3d inst., Philip Thomas. (April 12).

SUDLER, WILLIAM—Married at Bellefield, on Tuesday evening, the 11th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Judd, William Sudler, of Queen Anne's Co., to Miss Charlotte Mackubin, eldest daughter of James Mackubin, of Severn. (April 19).

LANE, NATHAN—Married on Thursday evening [April 13] by the



Rev. Mr. Compton, Nathan Lane, of Anne Arundel Co., to Miss Mary Williamson, of Calvert Co. (April 19).

CONOWAY, ADDISON—Departed this life on the 20th inst., Mr. Addison Conoway, of Prince George's Co., in the 46th year of his age. (April 26).

TILGHMAN, JAMES—Died on Wednesday, the 18th ult., in Chestertown, the honourable James Tilghman, late Chief Justice of the 2d District, and one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals, in this State. (May 3).

STERETT, JOHN—Died on Friday last at Baltimore, [April 28], Mr. John Sterett. (May 3).

GASSAWAY, LOUIS—Married last evening [June 20] by the Rev. Mr. Smith, Louis Gassaway, to Miss Rebecca Henry, both of this city. (June 21).

OGLE, BENJAMIN—Departed this life on Friday morning last [July 7] in the 61st year of his age, Benjamin Ogle, formerly Governor of this State. His remains, agreeable to his request, were privately interred the same evening on his farm near this city. (July 21).

DUNMORE, LORD—Died in England, Lord Dunmore, formerly Governor of Virginia. (July 19).

WARDER, SUSANNA—Died in Philadelphia on the 30th inst., [June] in the hundred and ninth year of her age, Susanna Warder, formerly the wife of Virgil Warder, who was one of the house servants of William Penn, Proprietor of Pennsylvania. This aged black woman, a daughter of one of his cooks, was born at his mansion house in Pennsbury Manor, in March, 1701, being the same in which he left the province on his return to England. The Penn family, respecting her faithful services in the time of her youth, allowed an annual sum to support her comfortably when she was not able to work, to the end of her days. (July 19).

WHITEWOOD, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died in Georgetown (Columbia) on the 28 ult., Mrs. Elizabeth Whitewood. (Aug. 30).

RUSH, RICHARD—Married on Tuesday the 29th ult. [Aug.] at Piney Grove, by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Richard Rush, to Miss Catharine F. Murray. (Sept. 6).

MURRAY, JAMES—Married on Tuesday the 29th [Aug.] James Murray, to Miss Charlotte W. Rackliffe. (Sept. 6).

HAMMOND, COL. REZIN—Departed this life at his farm in Anne Arundel Co., on Friday the 1st inst., Col. Rezin Hammond, in the 64th year of his age. During the American Revolution, he evinced a sincere and ardent attachment to his country's cause, by heading "a little warrior band," who, devoted to their leader, were with him ready at the call of danger, to engage in her defence. Amongst the names of those who composed our convention is found that of the deceased. For several years he was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens to represent them in the State Legislature. At an advanced period of his life, he retired from the turmoil of the world to the peaceful quiet of his farm. (Sept. 6).

THOMPSON, RICHARD—Died in this city on Saturday morning, [Sept. 2] in the 63d year of his age, Richard Thompson, an old inhabitant of this city. (Sept. 6).

TOOTELL, JAMES—Departed this life in this city yesterday [Sept. 12] Mr. James Tootell, purser of the U. S. Navy. (Sept. 13).

RIDGELY, CHARLES—Married at Baltimore on Thursday evening last [Sept. 21] by the Rev. Mr. Bend, Charles Ridgely, Jun., of Hampton, to Miss Maria Campbell, of that city. (Sept. 27).

WILLIAMSON, JAMES—Married in this city last evening, [Sept. 26] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, James Williamson, to Miss Sarah Anne Mayo. (Sept. 27).

HARWOOD, JOHN EDMUND—Died at Germantown, near Philadelphia, on Thursday last [Sept. 21] John Edmund Harwood, formerly of the New Theatre. (Sept. 27).

REINAGLE, ALEXANDER—Died at Baltimore on Thursday evening [Sept. 21] in the 62d year of his age, Alexander Reinagle, one of the managers of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Theatres. (Sept. 27).

BARCLAY, MRS.—Died on the 9th inst. [Sept.], Mrs. Barclay, wife of the Rev. Francis Barclay, Rector of William & Mary Parish, St. Mary's Co. (Oct. 4).

SANDS, SAMUEL—Died in this city last evening [Oct. 3] Samuel Sands, in the 38th year of his age. (Oct. 4).

CLARKE, BENJAMIN HALL—Married on Tuesday evening the 3rd inst., at Coll Spring Manor, near Queen Anne, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, Benjamin Hall Clarke, to Miss Nelly Clagett, eldest daughter of Joseph White Clagett, all of Prince George's Co. (Oct. 11).

THOMAS, JOHN HANSON—Married on Thursday evening, the 5th inst., John Hanson Thomas, to Miss Mary L. Colston, daughter of Rawleigh Colston, of Berkley Co., Va. (Oct. 18).

ROSS, JOHN—Died on Friday evening last [Oct. 13] Mr. John Ross, of this city. (Oct. 18).

EVERETT, REV. JOSEPH—Died at Cambridge, on the Eastern Shore of this State, on Monday the 16th inst., the Rev. Joseph Everett, in the 78th year of his age, and 30th of his ministry in the Methodist Church. (Oct. 25).

WILKINS, JOHN—Married on Thursday the 19th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Roberts, John Wilkins, of Baltimore, to Miss Elizabeth Dorsey, daughter of Major Edward Dorsey, of Anne Arundel Co. (Nov. 1).

WHETCROFT, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Wednesday evening [Oct. 25] in the 50th year of her age, Mrs. Elizabeth Whetcroft, consort of Burton Whetcroft, of this city. (Nov. 1).

WHITE, SAMUEL—Died at his lodging this morning [Nov. 4] Samuel White. Mr. White has for several years represented this State in the Senate of the United States. (Nov. 15).

MANSFIELD, JOHN—Married at Baltimore by the Rev. Doct. Bend, John Mansfield, of London, to Miss Mary B. Smith, of that city, daughter of General Smith. (Dec. 6).

## 1810

DULANY, DANIEL—Married on Thursday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Judd [Jan. 4] at Belvoir, the residence of Col. Henry Maynadier, Daniel Dulany, of Fitzhugh, of Baltimore, to Miss Margaret Murray Maynadier. (Jan. 10).

BLAKISTONE, MRS. MARY—Died on the 8th inst., in St. Mary's Co., in the 25th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Blakistone. (Jan. 31).

GLOVER, WILLIAM—Died on Wednesday, the 25th inst., William Glover. (Jan. 31).

RIDGELY, CHARLES—Married in this city on Tuesday, the 30th ult. [Jan.] by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt, Charles Ridgely, to Miss Elizabeth Fowler, youngest daughter of William Fowler, all of this city. (Feb. 7).

CHISHOLM, ARCHIBALD—Died at West River, Archibald Chisholm, formerly of this city. (Feb. 7).

AGUISTUS, JOHN—Died in this city, John Aguiustus, a native of Portland, Mass. (Feb. 26).

M'GRATH, REV. OWEN—Died on Thursday the 8th at Alexandria, the Rev. Owen M'Grath. (Feb. 26).

HOLLAND, EDWARD—Died in this city on Saturday night last, [March 3] Edward Holland. (March 7).

HEWITT, THOMAS WILLIAM—Died in this city on Saturday morning last, [March 10] Thomas William Hewitt, in the 42d year of his age. (March 14).

LEWIS, MRS. ELIZABETH—Departed this life on Thursday evening last [March 15] at Hackett's Point, Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis, in the 27th year of her age. (March 21).

CONTEE, ALEXANDER—Died suddenly in Charles Co., Md., at the residence of the Rev. Dr. B. Contee, on the 21st inst., in the 56th year of his age, Alexander Contee. (March 21).

STONE, MRS. MARY—Died on Monday evening last [March 19] in this city, Mrs. Mary Stone, in the 29th year of her age. (March 21).

PLUMMER, JOHN—Married near Queen Anne on Sunday morning last [March 25] by the Rev. Mr. Weems, John Plummer, Jr., of Prince George's Co., to Miss Anne Worthington, daughter of John Worthington, of Anne Arundel Co. (March 28).

FOX, MR.—Died at Charleston, S. C., on the 15th ult. [March], Mr. Fox, of the Theatre. (April 4).

CLAGETT, WILLIAM—Died at Hagerstown, on the 25th ult. [March], William Clagett, an Associate Judge of the 5th Judicial District of the State of Maryland. (April 4).

HIGGINS, MRS. GRACE—Died in this city on Sunday morning last [April 8] Mrs. Grace Higgins, in the 90th year of her age. (April 11).

JARVIS, NATHAN—Departed this life on Sunday morning last

- [April 15] in this city, Mr. Nathan Jarvis, printer, in the 39th year of his age. (April 18).
- WASHINGTON, GENERAL WILLIAM—Died at Sandy Hill, S. C., on the 16th ult., General William Washington. (April 18).
- HUNTER, JAMES—Married on Thursday last [May 17] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. James Hunter, to Miss Elizabeth Glover, all of this city. (May 23).
- GALLOWAY, JOHN—Died on Wednesday last [May 16] at Tulip Hill, on West River, Mr. John Galloway. (May 23).
- CLAGETT, GUSTAVUS A.—Died at Upper Marlborough on Thursday last [May 17] Mr. Gustavus A. Clagett. (May 23).
- HUTTON, SAMUEL—Died in this city on Friday morning last [May 18] Mr. Samuel Hutton, in the 53rd year of his age. (May 23).
- SELLMAN, GEN. JONATHAN—Died on Monday night last [May 21] at his farm on Rhode River, Gen. Jonathan Sellman. (May 23).
- JACK—Died on Sunday, the 20th inst., at the plantation of George Calvert, Esq., Prince George's Co., negro Jack, in the 120th year of his age. (May 23).
- TURNER, JOHN B.—Married on Sunday the 20th inst. [May] at Port Tobacco, by the Rev. Mr. Weems, John B. Turner, to Miss Anne Stone, both of that place. (June 6).
- FOWLER, MRS. REBECCA—Died in this city on Friday night last [June 1] Mrs. Rebecca Fowler, late consort of Mr. William Fowler. (June 6).
- M'ELDERRY, THOMAS—Died on the 27th inst. [May] in the city of Baltimore, Thomas M'Elderry, Esq., one of the Senators in the State Legislature. (June 13).
- CLARK, MISS MARTHA HALL—Died in Prince George's Co., on Saturday morning, the 30th ult. [June] at the seat of James N. L. Weems, Esq., Miss Martha Hall Clark, in the 22d year of her age. (July 4).
- WEEDON, SAMUEL T.—Died on Saturday the 20th of June, Samuel T. Weedon, Esq., Clerk of Queen Anne's Co., and Adjutant-General of this State. (July 11).
- BROWN, DR. JOHN H.—Married on Tuesday the 17th inst., at the

head of Severn, by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Dr. John H. Brown, to Miss Anne Ball. (July 25).

BARNES, JOSEPH B.—Died yesterday morning [July 24] in this city, in the 23d year of his age, Mr. Joseph B. Barnes. (July 25).

BROOME, JOHN—Died in New York on the 8th inst., the Hon. John Broome, Lieut. Governor of that State. (Aug. 15).

CONKLING, LIEUTENANT SOLOMON G.—Died at Ft. M'Henry, Baltimore, on the 9th inst., Lieutenant Solomon G. Conkling, of the United States Regiment of Artillery. (Aug. 15).

JENIFER, JOSEPH—Died in this county on Friday last [Aug. 10], Mr. Joseph Jenifer. (Aug. 15).

BUCKLAND, MRS. MARY—Died in this city on Saturday last [Aug. 11], Mrs. Mary Buckland, in the 78th year of her age. (Aug. 15).

SANDS, WILLIAM—Died on Sunday last [Aug. 12] in this city, Mr. William Sands, in the 75th year of his age. (Aug. 15).

BROOKE, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Friday the 17th in the 28th year of her age, Mrs. Elizabeth Brooke, wife of Mr. Thomas Brooke, and the second daughter of Walter Bowie, Esq. (Aug. 29).

MUIR, JOHN—Died in this city on the 30th ult. [Aug.], John Muir, President of the Farmer's Bank of Maryland, in the 60th year of his age. This worthy gentleman was a native of Scotland, and came to this country at a very early period of his life, from which time he attached himself warmly to the cause of American Independence, and took an active part in that struggle which terminated in the freedom of the country. His services as a member of the Legislature of Maryland, for six years, entitle his memory to the grateful respect of his fellow-citizens, and more particularly to those of Annapolis, whose best friend he has ever been. (Sept. 5).

SHAAF, MRS. MARY—Departed this life on Friday night last [Aug. 31] in the 34th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Shaaf, the amiable consort of Dr. John T. Shaaf, of this city. (Sept. 5).

CLARKE, LIEUTENANT SATTERLEE—Married on Sunday evening last [Sept. 23] by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Lieutenant Satterlee Clarke, to Miss Francis Whetcroft, of this city. (Sept. 26).

HARWOOD, NICHOLAS—Died on Thursday last, the 4th inst., Nicholas Harwood, an old inhabitant of this city, in the 65th year of his age. This gentleman began the career of life about the commencement of the Revolution. Through the whole of our struggle for independence he was the open and avowed friend of those rights we then contended for and through a long life continued firmly attached to them. He was early appointed to the office of Clerk of Anne Arundel County Court, which he continued to hold to the day of his death. (Oct. 10).

SYBELL, MRS.—Died in this city on Wednesday last [Oct. 10] Mrs. Sybell, consort of Mr. Henry Sybell. (Oct. 17).

WATTS, MRS. ELIZABETH—Died on Oct. 10, Mrs. Elizabeth Watts, consort of Mr. Richard B. Watts. (Oct. 17).

WELCH, JOSEPH—Died on Friday evening [Oct. 13] Mr. Joseph Welch. (Oct. 17).

ARCHER, JOHN, M. D.—Died at his seat in Harford Co., at an advanced age, John Archer, M. D. (Oct. 10).

DUCKETT, BARUCH—Died at his seat in Prince George's Co., Baruch Duckett, in the 66th year of his age. (Oct. 17).

WELLS, JOHN—Married at West River on Thursday evening last [Oct. 25] by the Rev. Mr. Pitts, Mr. John Wells, to Miss Hannah Mayo, all of this city. (Oct. 31).

WYVILL, MISS SUSAN—Died in this city, to which she removed from her residence near Herring Bay, for her health on Thursday last [Oct. 25] Miss Susan Wyvill, in the 28th year of her age. (Oct. 31).

STEWART, ROBERT W.—Married on the 17th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Robert W. Stewart, of Somerset Co., Md., to Miss Nancy Jones Warren, of Sussex Co., Delaware. (Nov. 7).

*(To be continued)*

## HOW MARYLAND TRIED TO RAISE HER CONTINENTAL QUOTAS

By ARTHUR J. ALEXANDER

It is difficult indeed to wage war, let alone a revolutionary war, lacking adequate supplies and materiel. Still more difficult is it to wage war of this character lacking sufficient manpower. It was such a combination which ever plagued the Continental High Command. What was a difficult problem from the very outset of the Revolution became more and more so as the War progressed. Necessary as it was to enlist new recruits to maintain the existing strength of the army, it was even more necessary to gain the additional numbers required for offensive action.

Colonial Americans seemed to be more averse to joining the colors with victory just over the horizon than they were at the outset of the conflict.<sup>1</sup> What was true of all colonials was particularly true of those resident in Maryland. Thus it was not until the Revolutionary War had virtually passed the halfway mark and various expedients to raise sufficient men had been tried and failed, that compulsory service was finally resorted to in order to yield the quotas demanded by a vociferous and long impatient Congress.<sup>2</sup> This is a study of the steps Maryland took to induce volunteers to fill her quotas and of the reasons why compulsion was finally adopted as a last resort.

In the early stages of the conflict the General Assembly was obsessed with the idea that if only a sufficiently attractive bounty were forthcoming, recruits in sufficient numbers would flock to the Continental standard. Actually, the Assembly went on record as favoring "an enlistment of volunteers on bounty" considered

<sup>1</sup> "The difficulty of enlisting increased with each year of the war, and when the French army arrived became worst of all." Claude H. Van Tyne, *The War of Independence, American Phase*, . . . (Boston, 1929), p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Laws of Maryland*, March Session, 1778, Ch. V.



"the most eligible mode to furnish . . . our quota of the Continental Army."<sup>3</sup>

For a time General Washington himself believed Maryland's efforts to recruit a volunteer force "to little purpose," and voiced his fears "that nothing short of drafting will have the desired effect."<sup>4</sup> Despite this the General was magnanimous enough to credit the report that the State was likely to get its regiments "nearly completed."<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, however, Washington's fears were well grounded and proved only too true in the long run. This in spite of the fact that bounties were gradually increased, both quantitatively and qualitatively, to tempt new recruits.

Having once embarked upon a policy of voluntary enlistment based upon bounties, the State was loath to yield in favor of another and perhaps more successful recruiting system. It is indeed possible that in this respect the legislators bowed to the dictates of their constituents.<sup>6</sup> Balked on this score, Maryland put forth special effort to retain the services of those whose periods of enlistment were about to expire. Similarly, efforts were made to have discharged veterans return to the ranks.

Finding it as difficult to gain new recruits as to induce experienced veterans to re-enter the service the State had recourse to the services of recruiting officers.<sup>7</sup> These officers were spurred on by bounties based upon the number of men recruited. The greater the number of recruits mustered by an officer the larger his bounty, with an additional bounty forthcoming in the event that he succeeded in raising his quota before a certain day.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of the State of Maryland*, October Session, 1777, 12. Entry of November 13, 1777. *Laws*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. II.

<sup>4</sup> Washington to the President of Congress, April 10, 1778, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1779* (Washington, D. C., 1931-1941), XI, 238-9. Washington to Brigadier-General William Smallwood, January 28, 1778. *Ibid.*, X, 360-1.

<sup>5</sup> Washington to John Augustine Washington, June 10, 1778. *Ibid.*, XII, 42-3.

<sup>6</sup> "I cannot think the mode of draughting the men will ever procure them," William Hemsley to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, July 12, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 347; "... I much fear they will never be procured by draughting," Hemsley to Lee, July 17, 1781. *Ibid.*, 354; "Draughted men, who are forced out will render very little assistance or rather do no good," John D. Thompson to Governor Lee, Aug. 11, 1781. *Ibid.*, 411.

<sup>7</sup> *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, October Session, 1777, 12. *Laws*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. III.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sects. III, XIV, XV.

Able-bodied vagrants, properly adjudicated such, who were over the age of eighteen were forced, willy-nilly, to render at least nine months service in the army.<sup>9</sup> Should these unfortunates elect to remain in service for three years or the duration they thereby became eligible to receive the customary bounty. Private citizens were encouraged to hire their own recruits on the promise of exemption from military as well as militia service for nine months, three years or the duration, dependent upon the period for which their substitute enlisted.<sup>10</sup>

When these expedients failed to yield men in numbers sufficient to close up the ranks, the legislature sought to further postpone the day of reckoning by enlarging the group of individuals deemed eligible for service. Negroes and mulattoes, proscribed at the outset, thereby became eligible for admission to the ranks at a later date.

Finally, when all expedients to defer the draft had been tried and found wanting, and only as a "last resort," was the General Assembly ready to sanction an all-out draft.<sup>11</sup> Ironically, the burden of the draft fell most heavily upon those least able to bear it unaided.<sup>12</sup> As much of this failure can be attributed to the individuals subject to the draft as to the officers charged with the enforcement of the Act itself.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sects. VI-VII. At the May Session of 1781 this provision was changed to require all vagrants above the age of sixteen to serve in the army until December 10, 1781 or to enlist for three years or the duration. *Laws*, May Session, 1781, Ch. XV, Sect. VII. This change was made in spite of strong opposition in the House. The House felt that its enactment might drive able-bodied vagrants out of Maryland who otherwise might be tempted to become substitutes. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, June Session, 1780, 222; *Ibid.*, May Session, 1781, 150. Some persons were adjudged to be vagrants although they did not come within the statutory description of such. [Council to delegates in Congress] May 22, 1778, *Archives of Maryland*, XXI, 107-8; 115-6. *Ibid.*, 104. Council to W. Haslet, May 21, 1778.

<sup>10</sup> *Laws*, June Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. II; March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. V. When a militiaman furnished a substitute to serve for three years or during the War he was "exempt from being draughted, and from all militia and military duty within and without the state, for three years or during the war"; whereas if two militiamen hired a substitute their exemption was limited to being exempted "from being draughted, and from all military duty out of the state for three years or during the war . . ." Two militiamen furnishing a nine months recruit were entitled to a similar exemption limited to nine months.

<sup>11</sup> *Laws*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. VI. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, October Session, 1780, 89. Entry of January 15, 1781. "That there be a draught in the last resort." Resolved in the affirmative.

<sup>12</sup> " . . . The Draught having fallen on many poor Men who have a number of children that depend solely on their Labour for a Subsistence . . ." Hemsley to Lee, May 10, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 236.

It took the Continental Congress less than three months to conclude that the ten dollars originally offered a recruit for a three year enlistment was too insignificant an inducement to tempt a man to enlist for a lengthy period of service. Congress therefore sought volunteers for the duration, unless sooner discharged, through the medium of a new offer of twenty dollars and a grant of land "to be provided by the United States."<sup>13</sup> Congress was most careful, however, to stipulate that the expense of procuring the requisite land be "paid and borne by the states in the same proportion as the other expenses of the war."

Maryland was ready and more than willing to do her bit to recruit the men needed for the eight Continental battalions assigned her, yet at the same time the State was loath to assume the obligation involved. What the Maryland Convention therefore did was to advance an original argument which was to have tremendous repercussions at a later date in another and more important connection.

Not only did the State not possess lands which it could call its own but it might conceivably incur "an expence exceeding its abilities."<sup>14</sup> To compel the State to incur an expense might only result in additional injustice and further inequity. Under these circumstances the Convention felt that the payment of an extra ten dollars in lieu of the hundred acres offered a private soldier furnished the ideal solution of the problem.

Congress, however, failed to acquiesce in this solution and bluntly informed the Convention just where it stood. The Continental Congress had seen fit to pledge the joint faith of all the states with the inevitable result "that no one State can by its own act be released therefrom." Should Congress permit Maryland to have its own way the result might be to "compel Congress to the immediate payment of an additional bounty far beyond what is reasonable."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, D. C., 1904-1937), V, 483, 762-3. Land bounties ranged from one hundred acres granted a private or non-commissioned officer to five hundred acres awarded a colonel.

<sup>14</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention of the Province of Maryland, Held at the City of Annapolis, in 1774, 1775 and 1776* (Baltimore, 1836), 272. Peter Force, ed., *American Archives: Fifth Series* (Washington, D. C., 1837-1858), III, 120. Esther Mohr Dole, *Maryland during the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1941), 75-78.

<sup>15</sup> *American Archives, Fifth Series*, III, 508-9. President of Congress to the Maryland Convention, November 4, 1776.

Although Congress was reluctant to yield the point it did relent to the extent of permitting the states to fill their battalions with recruits enlisted for three years or the War.<sup>16</sup> At the same time those who did enlist for this period were permitted to accept the Congressional bounty which was to be exclusive of any offered by the states.

Gradually Maryland shifted its position on the question of land bounties and before a year had elapsed not only was the State offering recruits forty dollars cash, a fifty-acre tract of land, a pair of shoes and stockings, all in addition to the Continental bounty, but also exemption "from all taxes during the time of their being on duty, and for the space of four years after they are regularly discharged."<sup>17</sup>

What was most significant about this combination cash-land-clothing-tax exemption bounty was the inclusion of the land bounty feature. It was only the previous year that the Convention lamented that the State had "no Lands belonging solely and exclusively" to itself, with which to make good the Continental bounty, yet now a year later was more than ready to guaranty that "if no other provision be made for laying out the quantity of land that may be necessary for the purpose aforesaid within this state, the same shall be procured by this state within the limits thereof, at the public expence."<sup>18</sup>

Thus a simple ten dollar cash offer intended to supplement the Continental bounty had increased to \$30, was quickly raised to \$40 and eventually mushroomed into all of \$250.<sup>19</sup> At the same time the offer of a pair of shoes and stockings blossomed forth into a gift of a complete outfit consisting of a coat, hat, waistcoat, breeches, shirt, shoes and stockings.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately these well

<sup>16</sup> Samuel Chase to Maryland Council of Safety, Nov. 21, 1776, *Ibid.*, 788; Resolution of Nov. 21, 1776, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VI, 971.

<sup>17</sup> *Laws*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. VI.

<sup>18</sup> Entry of October 9, 1776, *Proceedings of the Convention*, 272. *American Archives*, Fifth Series, III, 120.

<sup>19</sup> *Laws*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. IX.

<sup>20</sup> *American Archives*, Fifth Series, III, 120. Offer of ten dollar bounty in lieu of the hundred acre bounty awarded by the Continental Congress. *Laws*, June Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. I. The thirty dollar bounty was not directly offered by the State. Employers of substitutes were not required to pay their substitutes a bounty in excess of this sum. *Ibid.*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. IV. Forty dollars bounty. *Ibid.*, March Session, 1780, Ch. II, Sect. 1. \$250 bounty.

meant, pious expressions of legislative intent were no guaranty that either cash or clothing would be on hand when needed.<sup>21</sup>

The fifty acre bounty was not subject to metamorphosis and remained constant throughout the war period. The only "catch" in connection with the offer was that whereas a recruit could claim his cash and clothes upon his enlistment he was obliged to complete his full period of service before he could claim his acres.<sup>22</sup> A person foolish enough to desert relinquished his claim forthwith. The grant of tax exemption for the duration of service and four years thereafter also failed to undergo change during the Revolution.

General Washington considered Maryland's bounty generous enough but, as has already been seen, the offer of a bounty in and of itself was no adequate guaranty of its availability. Actual cash in hand as usual meant more to an impecunious recruit than promised payment at some future uncertain date. The recruiting officers themselves were under no illusions on this score and more than one was forced to confess that unless "furnished with money for that purpose [recruiting] every effort of mine will be fruitless."<sup>23</sup> One recruiting officer, more ingenious than his fellows, tried the expedient of persuading his recruits "to lend part of their money to the State, this will be a good security against desertion."<sup>24</sup> Although it might have been a good security against desertion it smacked too much of imposition and there is no record of the success of the plan.

If lack of cash or clothing deterred new men from enlisting how could one expect veterans who had already experienced the hardships of numerous campaigns to re-enlist? These men knew all too well the significance of the term hardship and unless possessed of more than an average degree of love of country would not be inclined to re-enlist, all the more so, if such bounties, as were forthcoming, were only to be offered new recruits.

<sup>21</sup> Washington to Governor Thomas Johnson, August 29, 1778, *Writings of Washington*, XII, 373; Richard Dallam to Governor Lee, July 14, 1780, *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 13-14; Hemsley to Governor Lee, July 23, 1780, *Ibid.*, 24-25; Richard Barnes to Governor Lee, July 28, 1780, *Ibid.*, 32-33; W. Bordley to Governor Lee, July 21, 1780, *Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>22</sup> *Laws*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sects. IX-X. *Ibid.*, November Session, 1779, Ch. XXXVI, Sects. VII-VIII.

<sup>23</sup> Mark Alexander, Jr., to Governor Lee, July 4, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 336.

<sup>24</sup> Bordley to Governor Lee, July 21, 1780, *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 19-20.

As a matter of fact, it might have taken more than was promised a recruit to tempt a veteran. Be that as it may, bounties available to recruits were extended to include those about to leave the service or who had already been discharged.<sup>25</sup>

Every soldier must expect hardship, the normal concomitant of any campaign as part of his usual lot, but war is also the breeder of monetary inflation. It was inflation rather than generosity which was in goodly part responsible for the mushrooming of the original cash grant into the \$250 offered in 1780.

Small as was the compensation of the average soldier, inflation rendered this pittance more insignificant than ever. To compensate for what was a real injustice, a discharged veteran who re-enlisted was therefore granted "a certificate for the depreciation of the pay which became due to him while he was in service, between the first day of January Seventeen hundred and seventy-seven and the last day of July last (1780), as if he was in the quota of this State of the Continental Army at the time of passing the act of the present session to settle and adjust the accounts of the troops of this State in the service of the United States, and for other purposes."<sup>26</sup>

The Commander in Chief was confident that it was entirely unnecessary to remind General Smallwood "of the necessity . . . to use every Argument with the Officers which may serve to call forth their utmost exertions in the recruiting Service."<sup>27</sup> The General Assembly felt that the best way to stimulate a recruiting officer was an offer of a combination cash-land bounty.<sup>28</sup> Recruiting officers, who were obliged to be "active and spirited" persons, were entitled to cash bounties for each able-bodied recruit they induced to enter the service. At first a recruiting officer could only claim sixteen dollars for each of his recruits but later this was increased more than sixfold to \$100.<sup>29</sup> At the same time,

<sup>25</sup> Bounty awarded a discharged veteran upon his re-enlistment, *Laws*, November Session, 1779, Ch. XXXVI, Sects. XVI-XVII. *Ibid.*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIV, Sects. II-III. Bounty intended to stimulate the re-enlistment of men already in the service. *Notes and Proceedings of the Senate*, November Session, 1779, 36. Entry of December 27, 1779.

<sup>26</sup> *Laws*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIV, Sect. III. For the Act settling and adjusting the accounts of the troops see *Ibid.*, Ch. XXXVIII.

<sup>27</sup> Washington to Gen. William Smallwood, May 3, 1777, *Writings of Washington*, VIII, 12-13.

<sup>28</sup> *Laws*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sects. III-XIV-XV.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, November Session, 1779, Ch. XXXVI, Sect. V.

if an officer succeeded in recruiting twenty men before a fixed date he was entitled to call upon the State for one hundred acres.<sup>30</sup> Should an officer be laggard and not raise his assigned quota until a later date, he forfeited half his claim and was only entitled to fifty acres.<sup>31</sup>

Recruiting officers were obliged to be residents of the counties in which they sought to raise their recruits; one officer being allotted each twenty recruits to be raised in his county. Should a sufficient number of "active and spirited" residents eligible to become recruiting officers be lacking, then the regular army could be called upon to make good the deficiency.<sup>32</sup> Although a requisition of such a character might conceivably have a devastating effect upon the army, officers detailed on this duty could still claim the usual bounties. As it was, recruiting officers felt that the State had not done enough for them and insisted that they be reimbursed for their expenses incurred in the ordinary course of business.<sup>33</sup>

At the outbreak of the War not only slaves but free Negroes as well were debarred from militia duty.<sup>34</sup> When the need for manpower became most acute there was a radical change of policy with regard to the utilization of the services of the colored man as a soldier. The first and more radical change permitted the voluntary enlistment of able-bodied slaves between sixteen and forty, provided their masters consented.<sup>35</sup> Less drastic, but

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sects. XIV-XV. The House of Delegates sought to limit a recruiting officers's compensation to a cash bounty of twelve dollars per recruit, a sum below the sixteen dollars adopted. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, October Session, 1777, 12. Entry of November 13, 1777.

<sup>31</sup> *Laws*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. XV. This Act fixed January 20, 1778, as the date upon which the hundred acre bounty accrued. If the quota was not raised until March 1st then the bounty was halved. *Ibid.*, November Session, 1779, Ch. XXXVI, Sect. XIII. In this case the dates fixed were March and April 1st, 1780, respectively.

<sup>32</sup> "... The governor and the council are requested, if they should esteem it necessary, to write to his excellency general Washington, to send some active officers of the Maryland line to assist in the recruiting service," *Ibid.*, Sect. V; *Ibid.*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. VIII; the Legislature authorized "that the governor and council . . . continue the recruiting service in the most effectual manner, by recruiting serjeants from the army, or otherwise . . ." *Ibid.*, March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. III.

<sup>33</sup> Edward S. Delaplaine, *The Life of Thomas Johnson* (New York, 1927), p. 254.

<sup>34</sup> The militia was only open to "able bodied male white persons between sixteen and fifty years of age," *Laws*, June Session, 1777, Ch. XVII, Sect. I.

<sup>35</sup> This permitted the enlistment of able-bodied slaves between sixteen and forty provided that they were "passed by the lieutenant, in the presence with the consent and agreement of his master . . .", *Laws*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. IV.

equally significant, was the enrollment of Negro and mulatto freemen in the militia whereupon all such freemen not vagrants or enlisted as such became "subject to a draught."<sup>36</sup>

A policy diametrically opposed was employed in connection with the recruitment of apprentices and indentured servants. At first any apprentice or indentured servant could enlist of his own free will provided his unexpired time of service did not exceed eighteen months, the monetary value of which was not in excess of £16 common money.<sup>37</sup> At the same time provision was made to reimburse the master of such person for the value of such unexpired period of service out of the enlistee's bounty and army pay. It was only a question of a few months before apprentices and servants were deprived of this privilege.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, Maryland was none too anxious to lose the service of these men and boys, particularly those of Irish or American birth, who were not employed in certain essential war industries. Although they could no longer enlist of their own free will they could be furnished as substitutes for others. The employers of such substitutes thereby gained exemptions for themselves from all "militia or military duty" for three years, the period for which their substitutes were enlisted.<sup>39</sup> As could be expected, "scandalous frauds and abuses" arose out of this practice, particularly when a servant or apprentice was enlisted for a long period of time, whereas he had but a short time within which to complete his contractual period of service.<sup>40</sup>

Throughout the entire Revolutionary conflict recruiting officers were time and again instructed in the most positive terms to avoid enlistment of British and foreign deserters.<sup>41</sup> The mere fact that it was repeatedly found necessary to reiterate this warning serves as proof of continued violation of instructions.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, May Session, 1781, Ch. XV, Sect. XII.

<sup>37</sup> Apprentices above the age of sixteen were subject to ordinary militia duty. "Servants purchased bona fide for money" were exempt from this obligation. *Laws*, June Session, 1777, Ch. XVII, Sect. II; *Ibid.*, February Session, 1777, Ch. III, Sect. III.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, June Session, 1777, Ch. X.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII, Sect. I.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. XII.

<sup>41</sup> Washington to Governor Johnson, April 8, 1779, *Writings of Washington*, XIV, 347-349; Washington to Smallwood, April 8, 1779, *Ibid.*, 351; Council to the Recruiting Officers in St. Mary's . . . Counties, January 3, 1780, *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 47-48; Samuel Chester to Governor Lee, February 28, 1780, *Ibid.*, 437.



Statutory enactment was necessary to bar the use of British deserters or for that matter prisoners of war as militia substitutes.<sup>42</sup> But even this ban did not deter the enlistment of British deserters in the first instance. The result was that it finally became necessary to interdict the enlistment of English deserters by statute.<sup>43</sup> Coupled with this enactment was a ban upon "imported convicts who had not served their full term of seven years."

Just as the ban on imported convicts may have been, the doors of the service seem to have swung wide open to permit the enlistment of native born felons.<sup>44</sup> Colonel Forrest even went so far as to request Governor Lee "to send some orders respecting the negro man under sentence of Death, he is so young and healthy and would make a fine soldier if acquitted."<sup>45</sup>

Not only did felons gain their pardon by rendering military service, but, what is more important, political prisoners enjoyed a similar privilege by statutory grant.<sup>46</sup> A disaffected person who himself entered the armed forces or procured another to substitute in his stead thereby regained all the rights and privileges of a free citizen of Maryland.<sup>47</sup>

The time came when Maryland could no longer afford to temporize and must perforce adopt compulsory service without further delay. But when Maryland did so in 1778 immediate compulsion was out of the question, temporizing was still too strong a habit to be so easily shaken off. Instead the first Draft Act contained alternative measures designed "to prevent as far as possible the necessity of draughting."<sup>48</sup> If these measures, the hiring of substitutes and the taking up of vagrants, brought in the

<sup>42</sup> *Laws*, June Session, 1778, Ch. I.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. XV.

<sup>44</sup> Philip Thomas to Governor Lee, August 13, 1781, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVII, 415.

<sup>45</sup> Zacha Forrest to Governor Lee, April 17, 1781, *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>46</sup> *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates*, October Session, 1777, 12; *Laws*, October Session, 1777, Ch. VIII, Sect. VII; *Ibid.*, May Session, 1781, Ch. XV, Sect. VIII; Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, Pardon granted to John Rodgers of Frederick County on condition that he enlist forthwith, April 13, 1780, *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 141.

<sup>47</sup> Bernard C. Steiner, *Western Maryland in the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1902) (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XX, No. 1, 27). Cites the case of a man who escaped imprisonment for failure to post a bond that he "would neither say nor do anything inimical to the United States" by voluntarily enlisting in the Continental Service.

<sup>48</sup> *Laws*, March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. IV.

needed men, so much the better; if not, only then could Marylanders be compelled to become soldiers against their will.<sup>49</sup>

In order to equalize the burden of militia service the militia companies of each county were divided into classes.<sup>50</sup> In order to equalize the burden of the draft the counties were again broken up into classes, but where the militia classes contained equal numbers of men regardless of property holdings, the draft classes were set up on the basis of an "equal assessment on property." The pioneer Draft Act, that enacted in 1778, was most specific in this respect: there were to be "as many classes as there may be men wanted, having regard to property, so as to distribute the same as equally as may be into each class."<sup>51</sup>

The Draft Act of 1780, on the other hand, struck a mean between the equality of numbers of the Militia Act and the equality of property of the earlier Draft Act. Under the terms of the Act of 1780 each class was required to contain £16,000 of property "as near as conveniently may be, taking care, as far as convenience will allow, to mix in each class persons of considerable property with such as have little or none, putting into each class, as near as conveniently may be, an equal number of militia men."<sup>52</sup>

The mere fact that fickle fortune's lot fell upon some unwilling Marylander was no positive guaranty that he would render the required military service. All an unwilling recruit had to do to gain his discharge was to find a "good and sufficient recruit in his stead."<sup>53</sup> If the "good and sufficient recruit" could for a consideration or otherwise, be induced to serve for "three years unless sooner discharged" his employer not only gained his own release from the service but was also able to call upon his fellow "classers" for a fixed cash contribution to boot.<sup>54</sup>

A faint-hearted, or for that matter, a well-to-do Marylander was not even obliged to tempt Dame Fortune; hiring a substitute

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, Sect. V. Hiring of substitutes. *Ibid.*, Sect. VI. Taking up of vagrants. *Ibid.*, Sect. XIII. Rewarded captors of deserters with exemption from the draft.

<sup>50</sup> *Laws*, June Session, 1777, Ch. XVII, Sect. V. Militia companies were divided into eight equal classes determined by lot.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. XI.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sect. III.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Sect. VI.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Sects. VI, XX. This contribution was calculated on the basis of four shillings for every hundred pounds worth of property.

before the required classing took place did the trick. Marylanders not in a position to hire their own substitutes could do so in conjunction with complaisant friends or neighbors, thereby gaining a limited exemption from militia and military service for all concerned.<sup>55</sup>

In the interim between the passage of the two Draft Acts another interesting measure intended to stimulate recruiting was adopted.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately this Act failed to accomplish its purpose and only speeded the enactment of the second Draft Act. Once again each county was sub-divided into equal-property classes, each charged with the task of finding an able-bodied recruit to serve for the duration of the conflict. This quest could be avoided, however, if the class took up a deserter who had previously enlisted for the duration and then fled the service. Should a class be unable to furnish a recruit or take up some convenient deserter then the County Lieutenant of the county in which the class was resident was required to appoint suitable men to seek recruits on the promise of a cash bounty to be raised by taxation, the bounty not to exceed £15 for each hundred pounds of property classed.<sup>57</sup>

Although as much as £3000 was available for recruiting purposes in some instances, the classes were unable to meet the competition offered by recruiting officers employed by the states of Delaware and Virginia.<sup>58</sup> Two better reasons can be assigned for the failure of this Act, the lack of hard cash with which to pay the promised bounties and impositions practised upon unwary recruits, defects which the Legislature quickly sought to remedy.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Laws*, March Session, 1778, Ch. V, Sect. V; June Session, 1780, Ch. XXIII, Sect. VIII, granted exemption "from all military duty out of this state."

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, June Session, 1780, Ch. X, Sect. IV.

<sup>57</sup> This was the so-called "Fifteen per cent tax."

<sup>58</sup> "I have as yet recruited only two men which stands me in £3000. Each. That business will be at an End here for some time, as I Understand the Virginians are giving £3000 for men to serve only eighteen months," Jos'a. Beall to Governor Lee, August 28, 1780, *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 63. Wm. Whiteley to the Governor and Council, July 24, 1780, "for they are giving (in Kent County in Delaware which is adjoining our County) as high as fifteen hundred pounds for Men to serve for three Months, and the fifteen per cent on the Classes in our County only amounts to four hundred and fifty pounds," *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>59</sup> Lack of funds: Richard Barnes to Gov. Lee, July 23, 1780, *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 24; Barnes to Lee, July 28, 1780, *Ibid.*, 32-33; Dallam to Lee, July 14, 1780, *Ibid.*, 13-14. The Legislature sought to remedy this situation by authorizing the Governor and Council to advance the necessary funds subject to subsequent reimbursement by distress and sale of delinquent class property where necessary.

Various expedients were adopted in Revolutionary Maryland to fill the depleted ranks of the Continental Army but all seem to have failed of their purpose. It was only after these expedients had been tried and found wanting that Maryland actually resorted to compulsory service.

*Laws*, June Session, 1780, Ch. XXIII, Sect. V. Imposition practised upon recruits: George Dashiell to Governor Lee, August 17, 1780, *Archives of Maryland*, XLV, 52-53. For the remedy see, *Laws*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XXIX, Sects. VIII-IX, "And, whereas, it is represented, that several of the recruits engaged by classes under the said acts, instead of receiving the money agreed on, have accepted bonds, notes, or engagements, from such class, or from some of the persons thereof, for the money or part of the money agreed for, and the class, or person entering into such engagement, have since refused to pay the money due [". . .] Also see *Laws*, October Session, 1780, Ch. XLIII, Sects. XII-XIII, "And, whereas scandalous frauds and abuses have been heretofore committed by some persons, . . . engaging recruits for small sums, and turning them over for exorbitant sums. . ."

## SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF GEORGE H. CALVERT<sup>1</sup> (1825)

By IDA G. EVERSON

"Keep my letters from America," wrote George Henry Calvert on September 13, 1825, to his uncle in Antwerp. Young Calvert's stay at the University of Göttingen was growing so short that forwarding his mail was no longer necessary. He could soon read it under his uncle's roof. Charles Stier<sup>2</sup> doubtless watched with satisfaction the growing pile of American letters; they were a kind of guarantee that George would soon be with him. And it is to Stier's credit that he kept some other letters as well—letters which his nephew had written to him from Germany. He may have treasured them simply because they were composed by a young relative of whom he was extremely fond; but, as a connoisseur of art objects, he may also have had a collector's "hunch" that these sketches of life in Germany might some day be of significance.

Perhaps tucked away in the pigeon-holes of some old *escritoire* in the great house on the "rue de l'Hôpital," these letters, six in number and one short note, withstood many cycles of Belgian housecleaning, and, after an extended sojourn in a depository in London, arrived in America in 1938,<sup>3</sup> one hundred and thirteen years after they were originally written. It is regrettable that the many letters, some of them nine pages long, which Calvert wrote to relatives and friends in America during his long stay in Ger-

<sup>1</sup> Born at Mount Airy, Prince George's Co., Md., Jan. 2, 1803; died in Newport, R. I., May 24, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Stier was the brother of Calvert's mother, Rosalie Stier Calvert.

<sup>3</sup> The originals of the letters printed below were lent to the writer in 1938, by their owner, the late Hon. John Ridgely Carter, of Paris, France, a great-grandson of Rosalie Stier Calvert. Mr. Carter's heirs, a son and daughter, Mr. Bernard Shirley Carter and Caroline Mildred Countess of Gosford, have recently presented the letters to Columbia University Library as a permanent gift.

many<sup>4</sup> have not been preserved, or at least have not come to light after a rather intensive search of more than fifteen years.

If the letter which Calvert wrote to his uncle from Weimar on April 11, 1825, is representative, his complete correspondence during this period would be very valuable today in helping to re-create an exciting era in the life of American students pioneering in Germany—an era which the jottings-on-the-spot of such writers as George Ticknor have partially reproduced with tantalizing incompleteness.

When, in the summer of 1823, Calvert left the Maryland plantations of his forefathers to travel and to study at the University of Göttingen, the first from his native state to enroll there,<sup>5</sup> he took a step uncommon enough in that day to give historical value to any letters which he might write during the period that followed. But the letters which he sent to his uncle from Weimar, Göttingen, and Bonn have other values besides the historical. They have a kind of genealogical interest as well, for Calvert was a great-grandson of Charles Calvert, the fifth Lord Baltimore.<sup>6</sup> And on his mother's side he was descended from Peter Paul Rubens.<sup>7</sup> His mother, Rosalie Stier Calvert, was born in Antwerp, the daughter of Henri Joseph Stier, who fled from Belgium to America, in June, 1794, just before the French occupation of Antwerp, bringing with him his entire family and his remarkable collection of Old World paintings, a collection which may have included some of the canvases of his famous Flemish ancestor.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the letters deserve notice if for no other reason than that they were written by a spirited youth of twenty-two, who had recently come to Germany, fresh from the rhetoric classes of Edward Tyrrel Channing. As an undergraduate at Harvard, Calvert had been praised by this relentless teacher of composition,<sup>9</sup> thereby winning a place for himself in

<sup>4</sup> Calvert arrived in Göttingen in January, 1824, and left on September 24, 1825. After a trip on the Rhine, he reached his uncle's home on October 8, 1825.

<sup>5</sup> See Ida G. Everson, *George Henry Calvert, American Literary Pioneer* (N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 7, and 152.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 244-245 (note 62).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13 and 244 (notes 61-62).

<sup>9</sup> "Professor Edward Channing would now and then compliment me for composition, and I took a prize for declamation." G. H. Calvert, *Autobiographic Study*, p. 143 (a photostatic copy of this book, in page proof, is in Special Collections, Columbia University Library).

the long list of Channing's pupils, who, having merited his commendation, went forth to leave their imprint on American letters.<sup>10</sup>

If Calvert's epistolary style is at times a little stiff, a little pompous—if the "turgid rhetoric" <sup>11</sup> flows too easily from his pen—these defects must not be attributed to Professor Channing's negligence. The broad ocean now rolled between Calvert and his teacher. The pupil was not now writing for academic approval; he was trying to impress his uncle with the fact that he had bravely endured the rigors of German university-discipline and had come out victorious. Then, too, he was writing hastily during a crowded semester (witness a few misspelled words), and the studies which he had been pursuing in Göttingen had not been conducive to the cultivation of a light and buoyant style. On the other hand, compared with the labored efforts of his later years, when Channing's blue pencil had been all but forgotten, these letters have now and then a refreshing breeziness, which Calvert seems to have lost in the scholarly seclusion of his Newport study. The scraps of concrete imagery, the evident appreciation of natural scenery, the schoolboy candor, the restraint in describing a dinner with the Grand Duke, the assiduous pursuit of Latin, even when it was not a required subject—all hint at a fundamental fineness and firmness of character, which must have gone a long way towards arousing Channing's interest and invoking his praise.

The chief significance of the letters lies, however, in their connection with early German-American literary relationships, for George Henry Calvert was to become the first American to complete a translation of a drama by Schiller,<sup>12</sup> the first to translate a volume of the Schiller-Goethe correspondence,<sup>13</sup> and the first to write a biography of Goethe.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England 1815-1865* (N. Y., 1936), p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted from O. W. Holmes in Brooks, *The Flowering of New England*, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> *Don Carlos; A Dramatic Poem*, by Frederick Schiller. Translated from the German, by the author of "A Volume from the Life of Herbert Barclay," (Baltimore: William & Joseph Neal, 1834).

<sup>13</sup> *Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe, from 1794 to 1805*. Translated by George H. Calvert. Vol. I (New York and London: Wiley and Putnam, 1845).

<sup>14</sup> *Goethe: His Life and Works*. By George H. Calvert. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, Publishers. New York: Lee, Shepard and Dillingham, 1872).

The letters appearing below, for the first time printed in full,<sup>15</sup> were written to Calvert's uncle, Charles Jean Stier. With the exception of the note of July 26, 1825, apparently delivered in person by an acquaintance, they all bore the address of Stier's home in Antwerp, "rue de l'Hôpital à Anvers Pays Bas."

Weimar April 11th 1825

My dear Uncle,

I have deferred writing to you for so long that I find myself nearly at the end of my vacation.—I shall begin my letter with the beginning of my journey.—I set out from Gött. on Saturday the 19 March and arrived at Gotha the evening of the same day—By means of a letter of introduction to a professor in Gotha (a professor of the Gymnasium) I was introduced to the club at which all the Literati Statesmen etc etc of the *ci-devant* sovereignty of Gotha assemble every evening to play cards and smoke pipes.—I revisited the palace and saw the paintings which have been since then arranged. The cabinet of medals I saw of which you recollect we heard so much and which is well worth being seen. The Library is interesting on account of many old manuscripts—I saw one of the Bible ornamented with paintings which appeared to me to be of first merit and regretted [*sic*] that you had not seen it—You recollect the gentleman who was so polite in showing us the pictures (a Mr *Küfner* [?]) he recognized me when I mentioned having been in Gotha 6 months before with you and my aunt and requested me to present his compliments to you.—However I will not detain you any longer in Gotha in which I remained 6 days reading in my room in the morning, talking to strange people at the Table d'Hôte and visiting the club in the Evening—Seven hours after my departure from Gotha I found myself passing by the ruins of the Theatre of Weimar—In spite however of the loss of what was the principal inducement for my coming to this place I have passed 2 weeks very agreeably<sup>16</sup> in it, and shall pass one more equally so.—Immediately after my arrival I met with a student of Göttingen<sup>17</sup> whom I had there known, and who was passing his vacation with his relations at Weimar—By his politeness I was immediately introduced to the principal personages of the place and like all other strangers, (who are treated with particular kindness by the court), I was invited on the Sunday following (every Sunday there is a court dinner and strangers are always invited as a matter of course) to dine with the Grand Duchess—the company consisted of the court Ladies many of the first Dignitaries etc of the Dukedom and 8 or 10 Englishmen who like myself enjoy the hospitality of Weimar.—the Grand Duke was unwell and I did not see him on the first day of my presentation—yesterday however—the second Dinner at which I have attended I had the honor

<sup>15</sup> Brief extracts from the letters were used in *George Henry Calvert*, a doctoral dissertation by Ida G. Everson (Columbia University Press, 1944).

<sup>16</sup> Calvert misspelled "agreeably" and "agreeable" in all of these letters.

<sup>17</sup> I have not been able to identify this student.



of being in due form presented to him.<sup>18</sup>—I assure you it is much more comfortable being a partaker of a court Dinner—than a spectator of one—particularly where the enjoyment of the dinner and of what is more important the society with whom it is enjoyed is attended with so little ceremony as is the case at Weimar.—There are an unusual number of handsome *unmarried* ladies for the size of the place and from the deficiency of native *beaus*, foreign ones are received with peculiar favour—In so small a town, as in all small towns there is great sociability; however I have to complain of the same custom here, which you recollect I found so unnatural in Antwerp viz. that a young gentleman is never allowed to say any thing to an unmarried lady without witnesses to the conversation—now as we Americans don't allow ourselves to be taken at one blow by the ladies, are not given to falling in love at first sight, nor indeed after repeated sights but only when more than the eyes are captivated, I must . . .<sup>19</sup> remain, where this custom prevails, a *general* admirer; and as a general admiration of the ladies is not sufficient to alter previous plans, the beauty of Weimar shall not be able to break my resolution of returning to Göttingen before the end of the vacation, and I shall, conformably to my determination before leaving it which I mentioned to you in my last letter, find myself on Wednesday the 22d. comfortably seated at my studying table preparing for my last semester.—I shall attend a court Ball which is to be given on Thursday and one more Dinner on the Sunday following at which I shall see nearly the same company as at the other two.<sup>20</sup>—I intended to have written to Eugenia<sup>21</sup> from Weimar, but have put it off until my return to Göttingen.—I pass Eisenach on my return near which is one of the most beautiful situations in Germany—I suppose you are about moving into the country.<sup>22</sup>—With assurance of the warmest affection for my dear aunt and yourself believe me my dear uncle your affect neph George H. Calvert

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May 27th. Göttingen—

My dear Uncle,

I dare say you think that instead of returning to Göttingen I made a journey from Weimar to Constantinople as I have been so neglectful as to let several weeks pass without writing to you.—I intended to write from Weimar to my dear sister Eugenia but not having had resolution enough to do so I considered it my duty to return to Göttingen to give her a long account of my stay at W. and it is owing to the slowness with

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<sup>18</sup> An account of Calvert's meeting with the Duke is given in G. H. Calvert, *First Years in Europe* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1866), pp. 189-190. Calvert had been a spectator, with his uncle, at a court dinner in Dresden (*ibid.*, pp. 138-141).

<sup>19</sup> The MS is torn here, making a word illegible.

<sup>20</sup> An account is given in *First Years in Europe*, p. 197.

<sup>21</sup> Calvert's sister.

<sup>22</sup> Charles Stier's country home, "Cleydael," was situated about six miles from Antwerp.

which I have written the enclosed 9 pages<sup>23</sup> to her that I have not before this answered your last letter.—I returned to Gött. agreeably to my previous resolution on the 21 April, 2 weeks before my lectures commenced and by doing so gained much time.—I have now only 2 regular courses per day, the one Blumenbach's<sup>24</sup> natural History, the other the History of the Arts with a professor Müller<sup>25</sup>—besides these I have twice a week the History of German Literature.—I have a private instructor (and an excellent one) in Latin and continue my private lessons in German with Mr. Benecke<sup>26</sup>—You thus see that I have enough to keep me fully occupied.—I have sold my horse and taken again to walking, and enjoy perfect health in spite of the bad weather.—I had resolved that this letter should be a long one but as I am so very tardy with my letter to America, I must postpone the execution of my resolution to the next.—I am trying to profit as much as possible from my last 3 months in Germany—Time passes with unaccountable rapidity and in a very short time I shall again have the pleasure of seeing you and my dear aunt.—Your most affecta. nephew George H Calvert

July 1st. 1825 Göttingen—

My dear Uncle,

I am quite ashamed of myself for not having written to you sooner but have been delaying it in order to be able to inclose to you several letters to America I find however that I can only get one finished and shall in 8 days write to you again inclosing two more.—You remind me in your last that I should write to Father requesting a letter to Mr. Hartford [*sic*];<sup>27</sup> I had written to him making this request six months ago and in his last letter he mentions that he would certainly send me one.—I am now very much occupied with Latin & German—My latin teacher is remarkably good.—The lectures on Archaeology are very interesting and will soon be more so as the young professor who has studied the subject thoroughly and seen the Elgin marbles at London will in a few days commence with sculpture.—The Library is well provided with the finest prints the most interesting of which he shows and explains to us—Old Mr. Blumenbach makes the subject of Natural History even

<sup>23</sup> The nine pages have not come to light.

<sup>24</sup> Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, born May 11, 1752; died in Göttingen, Jan. 22, 1840.

<sup>25</sup> Karl Otfried Müller, Professor of Classical Philology and Archaeology, born Aug. 28, 1797; died in Athens, Aug. 1, 1840.

<sup>26</sup> George Friedrich Benecke, born June 10, 1762; died in Göttingen, Aug. 21, 1844.

<sup>27</sup> "Hartford" appears to be an incorrect spelling of "Harford" (see G. H. Calvert's letter of September 13, 1825, below). Henry Harford was a natural son of Frederick Calvert, sixth and last Lord Baltimore, who dying in 1771, willed the province of Maryland to his son. Harford and George Henry Calvert's father were first cousins.

more interesting than it is of itself by the relation of amusing anecdotes, which are to be sure sometimes more amusing than instructive.—Mr. Heeren <sup>28</sup> I hav'nt [*sic*] seen for some time but am expecting an invitation from him soon to a supper party.—I have made two excursions to the Plesse and the neighboring spring with a party of Ladies (Mr. Laffert's family) <sup>29</sup> and am going tomorrow evening to take tea with them.—I have fixed the 20 September for the time of my departure from Göttingen and shall go through Frankfort as far as Heidelberg and then down the Rhine to Cologne.—I shall probably not reach Antwerp before the 10th. of October—I look forward my dear uncle with the most delightful anticipation to the time of my seeing you and my aunt again and shall have much to talk about.—I am afraid that father is not yet so fixed as he says he is in his resolution to come to Europe.—In 8 days I shall inclose to you a letter for him.—I have received in the last month several letters from America by way of Hamburg.—I promise not to be in future so neglectful and with the assurance of the sincerest affection I subscribe myself

George H Calvert

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Göttingen July 26th.—1825

My dear Uncle,

I had a letter half finished lying on my desk to my father when I was an hour agreeably surprised by Mr Moretus [?] <sup>30</sup> and another gentleman who very kindly came to see me and offered to take a letter to you.—I have not time to write a long one as I intended as they are desirous of leaving Göttingen immediately—I shall write soon again—until which time I remain your most affectionate nephew.—

George H. Calvert

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Göttingen August 15th. 1825—

My dear Uncle,

A few days ago I receiv'd your letter from Brussels written, you mentioned in it, on your way to Spa.—You will probably have left Antwerp before the return of M<sup>ssrs</sup>. Moretus [?] & Huelens [?] <sup>31</sup> whom I saw some time ago in Göttingen and to whom I gave a few lines for you inclosing a letter for America.—I have protracted my stay in Göttingen

<sup>28</sup> Arnold Heeren, born Aug. 25, 1760; died Mar. 6, 1842.

<sup>29</sup> For further mention of Mr. Laffert's family, see *First Years in Europe*, pp. 88-89 and 100; and *George Henry Calvert*, pp. 74 and 76.

<sup>30</sup> Unidentified. This letter is addressed to "Monsieur C. J. Stier.—politesse de Mr. Moretus—"

<sup>31</sup> Unidentified.

for a few days and shall probably not leave it before the first of October, and by this means I shall reach the Rhine at the most favorable season, that of the vintage.—I am now employing myself particularly with Latin and German—Of German I am now completely master, and shall before I leave Gött. have made a good *rebeginning* in Latin <sup>32</sup> which I shall continue with zeal at Edinburg. I have had an agreeable addition to my number of acquaintances by the arrival of a countryman, Dwight <sup>33</sup> his name, who came directly from Paris, and was able to give me some interesting information concerning several of my acquaintances who are in Europe.—I am glad that I have but a few weeks more to stay at Göttingen for I have got or rather am getting tired of it.—This I may safely acknowledge now having shown so much perseverance in continuing in it thus long.—I look forward with great pleasure to my getting into the active world of England and shall benefit much more from it for having remained so long as it were in retirement. And it is by no means the least agreeable prospect which my leaving Göttingen presents, that it will be immediately followed by my seeing you and my dear aunt again—My aunt I trust will not find me so *sérieux* as when I first arrived from America—It will be very interesting to me to see so many old friends and acquaintances but I dare say I shall have forgotten the names of some of them—I must look over my list of cousins which you gave me.—I have not for some time had a letter from America, and hope soon to receive several from different parts of it—I shall be several hundred miles nearer home in Edinburg than in Göttingen.—You will probably not be more than a few weeks absent from Antwerp on your excursion to Aix la Chapelle and Spa, so that this will perhaps find you returned.—Give my most affectionate regards to my aunt and believe me my dear Uncle—your affectionate nephew.—

George H Calvert

Göttingen September 13th. 1825

My dear Uncle,—

I am much obliged to you for inclosing me a letter from my father. It was the first I had received from America for several weeks—He speaks now very positively of coming to Europe, but of that we will speak when I have the pleasure of seeing you again, which will be within a month.—My dear father inclosed me a letter of introduction for our relation in England Mr. Harford.—I sent off today a Box of books and one of my trunks, having taken Mr. Borneman's <sup>33</sup> advice about the best mode of

<sup>32</sup> "I entered college not well grounded in Greek and Latin, and these—the Mediaeval practice still prevailing—were primary in all colleges. The deficiency in Germantown was not made good in Cambridge, and so I brought away little more Latin and Greek than I carried in." G. H. Calvert, *Autobiographic Study*, p. 143.

<sup>33</sup> Henry Dwight, son of the President of Yale. See *First Years in Europe*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>34</sup> Unidentified.

conveyance—they will travel very slowly and won't probable [*sic*] reach Antwerp sooner than I shall.—I propose to leave Göttingen about the 22d. for Frankfort—wether [*sic*] I shall go as far as Heidelberg or Strasburg I have not yet determined—I am very busy and you must excuse me for [*sic*] writing a long letter, particularly as I shall so soon have a much more agreeable means of communication than by paper.—remember me most affectionately to my dear aunt—shall I find Mr. A. Ertborn<sup>34</sup> at Antwerp. Keep my letters from America

Your afft nephew George H. Calvert

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Bonn October 1st 1825 Saturday

My dear Uncle,

I have arrived thus far on my journey in safety and look with delightful anticipation to the end of the following week by which time I expect to reach Antwerp. I have had a very pleasant journey and was so fortunate as to meet with my old acquaintance Watson<sup>35</sup> (you remember him at Dresden) in Frankfort with whom I have made the voyage down the Rhine to this place.—We shall remain here 3 or 4 days spend a day in Cologne and another in Aix la Chapelle—Watson is on his way to Paris and I think I shall be able to persuade him to make a détour of 2 days through Antwerp in order to see Rubens' paintings.—I cannot say exactly the day on which I shall reach Antwerp but suppose between the 8 & 11—you know from experience what a task it is to write a long letter whilst on a journey and will no doubt excuse me for not going beyond this page. Watson is sitting at the table opposite me and requests me to give you his respects.—I shall see you and my dear aunt in a few days untill when I remain your aff. neph. George H Calvert

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<sup>35</sup> Charles Stier's second wife was Eugenie Catherine Van Ertborn.

<sup>36</sup> Seth B. Watson, friend and pupil of Coleridge (see *George Henry Calvert*, pp. 79, 83, 94, 96, and 131).

# A HOUSE DIVIDED—THE CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES ON THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL, 1861-1865

By WALTER S. SANDERLIN

To most Americans the mention of "Maryland" and "Civil War" promptly brings to mind a picture of divided loyalties, accompanied by vivid images of Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1861, and of Barbara Frietchie. It is both significant and appropriate that two of the most memorable episodes associated with the history of Maryland during the critical years of the Republic should illustrate the extremes of the confusion of sentiment which characterized the state as a whole.

Concerning the basic events of the 19th of April there is little question, although the details and interpretations of the incident vary greatly. Ever since John Greenleaf Whittier captured and preserved the spirit and details of the Frietchie legend,<sup>1</sup> however, there have been repeated assertions of doubt as to its literal accuracy. Some writers have professed, and the evidence is convincing, that the route of the Confederate troops through Frederick did not pass the house from which Dame Frietchie is reputed to have hung the Stars and Stripes and from which she hurled her defiance to the "rebel hordes." It is claimed in particular that General Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson certainly did not receive and bow to her challenge.<sup>2</sup>

The destroyers of this quaint tale, however, have missed the point of the episode if they believe that by disproving this incident they have denied the validity of the basic thesis. The Frietchie legend, like the events of the 19th of April, is at once

<sup>1</sup> "Barbara Frietchie," *Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier* (new revised edition, Boston, 1874), p. 270. The other quotations are from the same poem.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the *Baltimore Sun*, April 24 and May 15, 1875. More recently several historians have presented irrefutable arguments denying the reported episode.

a recognition and an illustration of the fundamental split in the loyalties of sincere Marylanders which the Civil War caused. The emotionalism and unrest, the internecine strife, and the outbursts of extremism were symptoms of the confusion of allegiance and the resultant tension in the border states during the war.

Nevertheless, if skeptics insist upon specific events to prove the obvious fact, there are undoubtedly many incidents that might be used as examples. There has recently come to light ample evidence of divided loyalties on a wide scale in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. This new material clearly substantiates the very characteristics which the afore-mentioned episodes illustrate.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was one of Maryland's proudest achievements in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Originally intended to connect the District of Columbia (and Baltimore, by means of a branch canal) with the Ohio River at Pittsburgh, it had been completed by the outbreak of the Civil War only as far as Cumberland. After the momentary enthusiasm for the project had passed, a hostile national administration had refused further federal aid to the undertaking. The state of Maryland had then come to the rescue and had heavily financed the unexpectedly costly work until it had reached the Queen City of the Alleghenies in 1850, after expending almost \$14,000,000.

Along with Maryland's financial support had come state control of the enterprise. Domination of the canal company in turn had brought about the conditions which made possible political interference in the operation of the waterway. At an early date it became the practice of the state parties to use the numerous positions on the waterway to reward loyal supporters. Soon each alternation in the political control of the state brought sweeping changes in canal personnel. The cohorts of the out-going party were removed, and friends of the incoming group appointed.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed account of Maryland's relation to the canal, see Walter S. Sanderlin, *The Great National Project. A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXIV (1946), No. 1 (Baltimore, 1946), especially chapters V ("Maryland Assumes Control") and X ("Vicissitudes of War and Peace").

<sup>4</sup> Large-scale turnovers of canal employees occurred in 1852, 1855, 1856, 1858, 1860, and 1862. Proceedings of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, Journal H, 537-540 (July 15, 1852); I, 180-181 (June 30, 1855); I, 278-282 (June 27, 1856); K, 6-19 (March 31 and April 15, 1858); K, 183-184 (May 6, 1860) and 192-193 (June 2, 1860); and K, 273-275 (February

Thus both the officials and the employees of the company became closely connected personally and spiritually with the political complexion of the state.

It would not be surprising then if the attitudes and experiences of canal officials and employees during the war reflect with peculiar intensity the combined impact of confusion among the citizenry of Maryland and, especially, in political circles. Scores of letters, reports, and other company records confirm that this condition was characteristic of the canal's staff. Even before the outbreak of war sentiment was becoming divided. In January, 1861, Lawrence J. Brengle, a member of the board of directors and a former president of the Canal Company, expressed sympathy for the Confederate cause. He noted also the division of sentiment in his home town, Frederick, and expressed anxiety for the future position and course of the state.<sup>5</sup>

The outbreak of hostilities in April confirmed his fears for his state. The failure of Maryland to secede made the Potomac River (and hence the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal which paralleled it) the frontier between the opposing sides. Thereafter, the canal and the state prospered and suffered according to the fortunes of the war. The conflict of loyalties within the state also fluctuated with the success or failure of the contending armies. In either case the state experienced an overall loss.

In view of the effect of military strategy and campaigns on the sympathies of Marylanders, a brief summary of the ebb and flow of battle is of value. Federal defenses along the border were never entirely adequate,<sup>6</sup> although troops eventually were stationed along the river to the great discomfiture of the inhabitants.<sup>7</sup>

12, 1862). The Proceedings of the Directors are in manuscript form and are deposited among the records of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company in the Department of Interior Archives of the National Archives, Washington, D. C. These manuscripts, including letter books, correspondence, ledgers, etc., will be cited as Canal Papers.

<sup>5</sup> L. J. Brengle to W. S. Ringgold, Clerk, January 1, 1861, Canal Papers.

<sup>6</sup> Washington *National Intelligencer*, July 15, 1864. The *Intelligencer* of this date contains a masterly and devastating summary and criticism of the administration for its lack of an effective Shenandoah policy.

<sup>7</sup> A. Spates, President, to Ringgold, July 20, 24, 1861; R. Jones, Superintendent, to Ringgold, October 5, 1861; S. P. Smith, Collector, to Ringgold, October 23, 1861; Jones to President and Directors, November 11, 1861; A. Spates to General George B. McClellan, November 24, 1861; L. Lowe, Superintendent, to Ringgold, March 8, 1862; Lowe to A. Spates, March 12, 1862; A. C. Greene, Director, to Ringgold, August 4, 1862; A. K. Stake, General Superintendent, to President and Directors, November 3, 1862; Jacob Miller to Ringgold, November 3, 1862; G.



Hence for a major part of the war along the Potomac frontier the initiative remained with the Confederates. In the early years there were frequent raids across the river designed primarily to disrupt federal communications and disturb Northern equanimity. Thus one of the principal activities of the raiders was to destroy canal facilities so as to interrupt navigation.<sup>8</sup> The same type of destruction occurred during the large-scale invasions in September, 1862, and June and July, 1863.<sup>9</sup> For the most part the damage was limited to the simpler methods necessary to stop trade on the waterway, such as cutting the banks. The heavier, more expensive masonry works—walls, locks, culverts, aqueducts, and dams—were relatively untouched.<sup>10</sup> Apparently the South was still hoping that Maryland would secede and that their cause would triumph. Confederate partisans therefore sought to avoid unnecessary damage to a work that might be of use to them, and tried not to alienate secessionist sentiment in the pivotal state.

It was during this early part of the war, when the military decision was still in doubt, that the first evidences of divided loyalties appeared in the ranks of the canal employees. Former president Brengle apparently became more discreet in the expression of his sentiments after the beginning of war, or else he changed his mind. The wartime president of the company, Alfred Spates, was not so discreet. His conduct brought down upon him the suspicion of the federal government on account of his reported rebel sympathies. His relations with the Confederates during their two invasions of Maryland were particu-

Spates, Superintendent, to President and Directors, January 1, 1863; L. Benton, Superintendent, to President and Directors, January 1, 1863; Canal Papers. See also E. B. Swanson to A. B. Cammerer, October 26, 1938, National Capital Parks, File 1460 (Chesapeake and Ohio Canal), in the Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

<sup>8</sup> *Baltimore American*, June 11, 1861; *Washington Evening Star*, June 11 and 14, 1861; A. Spates to Ringgold, June 13, August 13, 1861; A. K. Stake to A. Spates, June 26, July 6, 1861; S. P. Smith to Ringgold, October 23, 1861; Canal Papers.

<sup>9</sup> G. Spates to Ringgold, September 13, October 6, November 26, 1862; J. Masters, Superintendent, to Ringgold, September 22, 1862; A. Spates to Ringgold, October 6, 1862; T. Hassett, Superintendent, to Ringgold, October 14, 1862; L. Lowe to Ringgold, June 30, 1863; G. Spates to President and Directors, June 30, 1863; Masters to Ringgold, July 19, 1863; H. Miller, Collector, to Ringgold, July 22, 1863; A. C. Greene to Ringgold, July 25, 1863; Masters to President and Directors, August 4, 1863; Canal Papers.

<sup>10</sup> The few instances of serious damage reported were obviously the exceptions to the general policy pursued by the Confederates. See, for example, A. Spates to Ringgold, June 13, 1861; S. P. Smith to Ringgold, October 23, 1861; Canal Papers.

larly questionable. As a result, he was thrice arrested and detained by military authorities.<sup>11</sup> The confusion of loyalties extended down through all levels of canal employees. Attempts to blow up one of the canal's dams in 1861, raised doubt as to the collusion of some canallers sufficient to elicit a pamphlet by one of the canal's friends, energetically defending the latter from the charges.<sup>12</sup> The engineer in charge of the construction of a new masonry dam for the canal in the Potomac was also arrested for the same reasons as the president in 1863.<sup>13</sup> The superintendent of the Monocacy division of the canal was repeatedly accused of rebel sympathies and disloyal activities by the federal military authorities stationed along the canal and engaged in the construction of the Washington aqueduct.<sup>14</sup> Finally, there was some unrest growing out of the attempts to enforce the draft.<sup>15</sup> The opposition to this measure probably stemmed in part from lack of sympathy with the Northern cause.

Reports of loyal activities are naturally not so numerous as those of rebel sympathizers. Being the obvious and expected, they lacked the novelty that would attract public attention and serve to perpetuate them. That there were many episodes of Unionist demonstrations is amply indicated by the almost casual references to such incidents from time to time. As early as 1861 the boatmen and canallers were carrying on their occupations under dangerous conditions. There were frequent exchanges of shots between the pickets of both forces on either side of the river.<sup>16</sup> In one instance, a mule driver, a mere boy, was hit and wounded by the fire. It was also reported that Confederate troops amused themselves from time to time by drawing a bead on canal

<sup>11</sup> *Baltimore American*, September 3, 1863, and January 25, 1864; Fred Fickey, Jr., Maryland Board of Public Works, to Ringgold, September 1 and 3, 1863; Brengle to [Ringgold?], September 15, 1863; Greene to Ringgold, January 25, 1864; Canal Papers.

<sup>12</sup> *To the People of Maryland: The Canal and its Management Vindicated* (n. d.). See also, A. K. Stake to A. Spates, July 6, 1861; Canal Papers.

<sup>13</sup> *Washington Evening Star*, September 2, 1863; Brengle to [Ringgold?], September 15, 1863; Stake to Brengle, September 17, 1863; Canal Papers.

<sup>14</sup> R. C. Bomford to Directors, August 28, 1862; Canal Papers. A long correspondence followed in which the charges were renewed from time to time.

<sup>15</sup> Ringgold to Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War, August 21, 1862, Letter Book M, p. 56; J. G. White, lockkeeper, to Board of Directors, April 10, 1863; G. Spates to Directors, October 30, 1864; Canal Papers.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, A. K. Stake to A. Spates, June 26, July 6, 1861; A. Spates to Ringgold, October 6, 1862; A. K. Stake to Directors, November 3, 1862; G. Spates to Ringgold, June 12, 1863; Canal Papers.

workers seeking to repair the damage caused by rebel raiders.<sup>17</sup> This practice served to scatter the workers, discourage the more timid ones, and thus prolong the effects of the raids by delaying the restoration of navigation. Those who carried on under these conditions—boatmen and repair gangs alike—are among the many unsung and unremembered heroes of the war who risked their lives constantly in performing their everyday tasks.

After the set-back at Gettysburg, however, the Southern tide began to recede. And as hopes of ultimate success fell, and expectations of Maryland's eventual secession went unrealized, the danger to the canal increased. Confederate raids, led by Jubal Early, John S. Mosby, and Elijah V. White, if somewhat less frequent and of shorter duration, became more destructive of canal property. Locks were damaged and at least one aqueduct was blown up.<sup>18</sup> It is true that even in 1861 there had been attempts to blow up one of the dams in the river, but these had been unsuccessful. On the other hand the destruction engaged in now was deliberate and more widespread. Boat-burning and mule-stealing became so frequent in 1864 as to overshadow completely the isolated instances of this practice in the preceding years. According to available reports at least sixty boats were destroyed in this fashion in 1864, seriously handicapping the trade on the waterway. There were also many reports from boatmen of stolen teams.

Equally as important as the physical destruction of the boats was the terror which these activities spread among the boatmen. The latter, fearing for their investments in boats and teams, and even in fear of their lives (although there are no reports of violence to persons during the raids), refused to venture out on the canal, causing a more serious interruption in the flow of the vital coal trade from western Maryland to the National Capital.<sup>19</sup> Thus the effects of the raids and threats of raids lingered long after the actual danger had passed.

<sup>17</sup> A. K. Stake to A. Spates, July 6, 1861; Canal Papers.

<sup>18</sup> Letters to Ringgold from the following: A. Spates, July 5, 1864; G. Spates, July 16, 1864; Masters, July 18, 1864; Miller, July 18, 1864; L. Benton, July 20, 1864; L. Lowe, July 25, 1864; A. C. Greene, September 2, 1864; and G. Spates, October 16, 1864. See also, G. Spates to President and Directors, July 25, 1864; Greene to A. Spates, September 29, 1864; and Masters to President and Directors, October 3, 1864; Canal Papers.

<sup>19</sup> Greene to Ringgold, September 2, 1864; Greene to A. Spates, September 29, 1864; G. Spates to Ringgold, October 16, 1864; Canal Papers.

It was during the terrifying raids of 1864 and under the conditions described that the most spectacular instance of the expression of Federal sympathies occurred. Mrs. Neill, a humble canal employee, single-handedly repulsed one band of Confederate raiders from across the Potomac. In the service of a company whose officers were themselves divided in loyalties—as were also the citizens of the state in which she resided—Mrs. Neill was quite certain as to her own sentiments. She also knew her position in terms of the conflict raging about her. Furthermore, she had no fear of the raiders from across the river, the mere reports of whose activities were sufficient to drive trade from the waterway and scatter the boatmen in a scramble for safety. The houseboat over which she held sway as the highly prized cook of a company repair gang was her castle. No warriors of either side would drive her from it and burn it to the water's edge.

While Confederate bands were engaged in their recently developed sport of boat-burning, during a raid in July, 1864, a group of them came upon Mrs. Neill's houseboat.<sup>20</sup> Here indeed was a prize worth taking, for without the houseboat how could the repair crew be kept together and on the job? The soldiers entered the boat and ordered all persons to leave it to avoid bloodshed. They announced their intention to destroy the boat. Mrs. Neill not only refused to budge; she challenged the Rebels to burn the boat with her on it. She successfully overawed the invaders and drove the bewildered troopers from the boat.

Discount the story as much as you wish. Impute whatever motives you wish to the Confederate raiders for retreating before the onslaught, verbal or physical, of the doughty cook. Theorize at will concerning the reasons which left her houseboat unharmed by the raid. The fact remains that while boats in the canal on both sides of the Neill castle burned merrily, fed by their cargoes of coal, the only boat unscathed on that section of the canal during the most destructive raid of the year was the houseboat on which "a mere woman" had the audacity to defy the "Rebel hordes."

<sup>20</sup> G. Spates to [Ringgold?], July, 1864. In his report, Superintendent Spates notes that the Confederates "entered the house boat for the purpose of setting it on fire and but for the resolute and determined manner in which Mrs Niell [*sic*] the cook in charge of the boat defended the boat it would have been burnt . . ."

The heroic act of Mrs. Neill is a fitting climax to the story of the conflict of loyalties on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal during the Civil War. Insofar as the confusion of sentiment on the canal reflects the situation among Marylanders as a group—as it undoubtedly does—the summary of the canal's experiences has general interest. The conditions which produced a Mrs. Neill for the waterway produced the emotional outbursts of the 19th of April and the Frichtie legend for the state as a whole.

## AMERICAN TIES WITH ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, LONDON

By the EDITOR

Among the many London churches all but destroyed in attacks from the air is one which has special interest for Marylanders. This is All Hallows-by-the-Tower, in the City, founded in the seventh century. It possessed—and possesses, for a movement is underway to rebuild the shattered walls—particular associations with America.

All Hallows was the scene of the marriage of John Quincy Adams and Louisa Catherine Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson of Maryland, American consul at London. The date was July 26, 1797. This was the union of representatives of two leading families of the New World. The family of the lady, though less conspicuous on the national stage than that of her husband, was nonetheless notable, for she was a niece of Thomas Johnson, an outstanding patriot and first governor of Maryland under the State Constitution. Other uncles were James and Baker Johnson, who with the Governor owned and operated the Catoctin and Bloomsbury Forges in Frederick Country. Her father was born, as were the Governor and all of his ten brothers and sisters, in Calvert County. He went to London in 1771 to represent the Annapolis merchant firm of Wallace, Davidson and Johnson. There he wedded Catherine Nuth, daughter of a London family.

When war came he took refuge in France where he served as American agent. Some years later, President Washington appointed him first United States consul to London.<sup>1</sup> Many of Johnson's letters during his early years in London are found in

<sup>1</sup> Edward S. Delaplaine, "The Life of Thomas Johnson," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV, 33 (March, 1919) *et sequens*, especially p. 48. Judge Delaplaine's biography also appeared in book form under the same title (New York: Grafton Press, 1927).



All\* Hallows-by-the-Tower, 1940.  
View of the East End after the first bomb fell.



North Aisle of All Hallows, 1945.  
The rubble has been covered with concrete to preserve treasured memorials  
beneath. Flower tubs mark sites of former pillars.

No 202 } John Quincy Adams, Esq. of the Parish of Boston in the United States of  
 North America and Louisa Catherine Johnson of this Parish were  
 Married in this Church by Licence  
 this twenty sixth Day of July in the Year One Thousand seven Hundred  
 and ninety seven By me John Hewlett, B. D.  
 This Marriage was solemnized between Us { John Quincy Adams.  
 Louisa Catherine Johnson  
 In the Presence of { James Brooks, Joshua Shinnick Joseph W.  
 Thomas Beldams Catherine Johnson

Marriage of John Quincy Adams and Louisa Catherine Johnson as entered in  
 Register of All Hallows-by-the-Tower.



the letter books of his firm, now in the Hall of Records, Annapolis.<sup>2</sup> They are, of course, concerned with business affairs of the firm, but occasional comments reveal a personality alert, witty and satirical.

Adams had been much in Europe, as student and as secretary to his father. In 1794, he was appointed Minister to Holland and thereafter had occasion to visit London from time to time. His Diary for November 11, 1795, records that he dined with the Johnson family on that day. The following spring he and Miss Johnson were betrothed, but duty obliged him to return to The Hague. The marriage, more than a year later, is laconically recorded in the Diary:

July 26th—At nine this morning I went, accompanied by my brother, to Mr. Johnson's and thence to the Church of the parish of All Hallows Barking, where I was married to Louisa Catherine Johnson, the second daughter of Joshua and Catherine Johnson, by Mr. Hewlett, Mr. Johnson's family, Mr. Brooks, my brother, and Mr. J. Hall were present. We were married before eleven in the morning, and immediately after went out to see Tilney House, one of the splendid country seats for which this country is distinguished.<sup>3</sup>

The tight-lipped Adams vouchsafes no further information. Soon afterward he went as Plenipotentiary to the Court of Prussia. His mother, then in Washington, wrote her sister, Mrs. Richard Cranch, of Braintree, Massachusetts:

Since I wrote you last I have Letters from my sons abroad . . . [Thomas] has consented to go to Berlin with his Brother . . . He says since I wrote you last, [""] my Brother has been married and given me an amiable and accomplished sister. He is very happy and I doubt not will remain so, for the Young Lady has much sweetness of Temper and seems to Love as she ought.[""] Thomas speaks highly of the Family and of their kindness and attention to him, says they are about to embark for America & settle in the city of Washington, where Mr. Johnson has property. They will be an agreeable acquisition to the city at which I rejoice.<sup>4</sup>

"Young John Adams' negotiations [said the *Boston Chronicle*] have terminated in a Marriage Treaty with an English lady, the

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mrs. William F. Bevan.

<sup>3</sup> Charles F. Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874) I, 199-200.

<sup>4</sup> "New Letters of Abigail Adams, 1788-1801," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 55, Pt. 1 (April, 1945), p. 222.

daughter of one Mr. Johnson, on Tower-Hill. It is a happy circumstance that he has made no other Treaty." <sup>5</sup>

The Johnsons were parishioners of All Halloes Barking, to use the old name of the church, as doubtless were also the Nuths. Mrs. J. Q. Adams played a creditable part opposite her accomplished, if not too popular husband, and in various European capitals as well as in Washington acquitted herself with distinction. Her trials and successes have been chronicled in Benjamin Perley Poore's *Reminiscences* <sup>6</sup> and elsewhere. The register showing the Adams-Johnson marriage still exists.

Another item of American association with All Hallows Church is more curious. The baptismal records show that the rite of baptism was administered on October 23, 1644, to "William, son of William Penn and Margaret his wife." Thus the champion of Quakerism and founder of Pennsylvania came into the world under the sponsorship of All Hallows. Pepys in writing of the Great Fire (1666) credits Penn's father, Admiral Sir William Penn, with saving this church and the vicinity by sending ship-workers to fight the flames, though the "dial" of All Hallows clock was melted. A bronze tablet was presented in 1911 by the Pennsylvania Society of New York to memorialize the name of Penn.

A Washington family connection with the Parish also exists through a tablet in Holy Trinity Chapel, Minories, a dependency of All Hallows, which was erected in memory of Colonel William Legge who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Washington, and niece of Lawrence, great-great-grandfather of George Washington. In consequence of this marriage Colonel Legge impaled the Washington arms upon his escutcheon. The device in glowing colors remained until the great blitz.

Adjacent as it is to the Tower of London, All Hallows has for centuries been a witness to events of major importance in Anglo-Saxon history, many of them tragic. The Crusaders Chapel memorializes one period of religious fervor; another chapel was founded by Edward I to contain the heart of Richard Coeur de Lion, buried beneath its altar; and in the Vicar's Vault Archbishop Laud was interred after his execution in the Tower.

Since World War I, All Hallows has been famous as the

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in James Truslow Adams, *The Adams Family* (N. Y., 1930), p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> Philadelphia: 1886, p. 27-28.

guild church of Toc H, the British devotional organization founded in Flanders trenches by the Vicar of this church, Rev. Philip B. Clayton.

The damage to All Hallows from bombing and fire was extensive but the tower and two walls remain. Three times between 1940 and 1944 the church and vicinity suffered under attacks. The rich memorials—windows, tablets, superb brasses and sculpture—are in fragments or entirely gone. The vicar and parish authorities have determined to restore this historic church which for nearly 1300 years has ministered to the East End of London. The campaign for funds for restoration is under way, assisted by devoted friends of the Vicar. Dowager Queen Mary is among the patrons and contributors and her name is to be borne by the new organ. Queen Elizabeth has promised to lay the foundation stone of the new work in May, 1948.

## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

[The Library of Congress:] "The Story Up to Now," By DAVID C. MEARNS. Chapter I in the *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress* . . . Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1946. p. 13-227.

The Congressional Library holds securely a unique place in the esteem and affection of the American people. To Marylanders it is a friendly neighbor. Even the man in the street has a vague idea and pride that it is not only the world's greatest as to material holdings, and is now housed in two immense and distinguished buildings, but is rendering indispensable services of high quality to official Washington and to the whole country.

It is unusual to review a section of a thick and forbidding annual government report, but the brilliant and absorbing story which fills 214 double column pages is a major contribution to American cultural history. It will surely be republished separately for general reading and enjoyment, and should then be appropriately illustrated.

There is something dramatic, imaginative, intriguing and significant on almost every page of this substantial account of a great American venture, beginning with Elbridge Gerry of "Gerrymander" fame, who in the first year of the first American Congress introduced the Act to create the Library, down to Archibald MacLeish, whose recent five years are already referred to as "the passing of the comet."

Mr. Mearns, Director of the Library's Reference Department, recounts with notable discernment and clearly from extensive detective work among old records, the hopes and plans, the policies and controversies, the accomplishments and weaknesses of successive librarians for 150 years.

The occasion for writing this history came with a challenge from the House Appropriations Committee, when it failed to meet fully the Library's 1947 budget request. It asked that a "definite library policy be established," as between "the desire to build and maintain the largest library in the world," and that of maintaining a library primarily for the service of the Congress."

But the inspiring story as Mr. Mearns gives it, full of incident and humor and of appreciative understanding, leaves little doubt that this great library, like most others that are worth their salt, has grown to meet pressing public demands, and that Congress will bring in a verdict, not for a library functioning narrowly for the use of Congress alone—

its Legislative Reference Department is already so serving, and with note worthy success—but for a great National Library of far flung and beneficent activities, as it has already become under librarians Putnam, MacLeish and Evans.

When picturesque Ainsworth R. Spofford was creating the legend that his own head could carry the whereabouts of every book in the library, his own desk likewise held the fees received from the daily inflow of newly published books to be copyrighted. The inconsistency of a library where a copy of every American publication must be deposited for copyright record, with the purpose of operating a highpowered reference department to specially serve a group of legislators, could only be resolved by making both of them component parts of a greater whole.

This policy, of building a great cultural organism to serve government on all levels, groups and organizations in every field of human activity, libraries in every town, and to meet the needs of the individual citizen, ultimately by supplementing his local library, was the basis for the 40 years of inspiring leadership by Herbert Putnam before retirement in 1939. His alert resourcefulness and enthusiasm for discovery and acquisition brought phenomenal growth in collections, particularly of rare and worthwhile items for research. His personal knowledge of men and of books and of movements led him to commission scouts in every subject and every land. His creation of "chairs" for specialists on the library staff to advise and interpret, the national distribution of printed catalog cards, these were only a few landmarks in a memorable era.

The 5-year revolution in administrative organization and philosophy by Archibald MacLeish is a story in itself, detailed by Mr. MacLeish in the previous annual report but here summarized more objectively. Drawing on the experience of trained colleagues within and without the library, infused by his dynamic conviction of the power of books and ideas in a progressive society, the Library of Congress has taken a new position of leadership, has become more flexible, enthusiastic and competent within its own walls. Now, under Mr. Evans, it awaits enlarged funds to enter a new era of usefulness in a world which sorely needs its help.

Mr. Mearns' history is a delight to read, and it sets up a new model for all institutional histories.

JOSEPH L. WHEELER

*Benson, Vermont.*

*The Ohio Company Papers, 1753-1817: Being Primarily Papers of the "Suffering Traders" of Pennsylvania.* By KENNETH P. BAILEY. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1947. xi, 549 pp.

The documents in this volume relate to the vital frontier history of the United States, and are transcribed from the originals in the Etting Collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. They include papers dealing with western expansion and settlement, Indian trade, Anglo-French war-

fare, financial schemes and land speculation, political maneuverings, and other activities of the trans-Allegheny west.

The collection covers in general the following subjects: the papers of the "Suffering Traders" who had suffered losses in the Indian attacks of 1754 and 1763; materials of such western traders and speculators as George Croghan, William Trent, Barnard and Michael Gratz, John Baynton, Samuel Wharton, George Morgan, and others; Vandalia and Indiana Company documents; and a section of miscellaneous papers. Although most of these papers pertain to the two decades prior to the Revolution, in general the 1753-1817 period is included. Their arrangement is not strictly chronological, but after separation into groups covering specific subjects, by date within each group.

Before each of the more important groups of documents, Professor Bailey gives the necessary data to tie them in with the overall picture. The footnotes are valuable, including biographical sketches of the many frontiersmen whose names appear in the papers. The preface and introduction are scholarly and lucid, but one looks in vain for the connection between the title of the volume and its contents, since only the first four papers relate directly to the Ohio Company. The index is comprehensive, although not well edited; the four maps are rather indistinct; and the lithoprinting is at times poor.

Nevertheless, these documents will be welcomed by students of our trans-Allegheny west, revealing as they do the inside operations of those traders and land companies who had so tremendous an influence on our country during the last half of the eighteenth century. Professor Bailey is to be thanked for the service rendered future students by having these papers put into print.

HOWARD J. STROTT

*Niles' Weekly Register: News Magazine of the Nineteenth Century.*

By NORVAL NEIL LUXON. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947. 337 pp. \$5.00.

*Niles' Weekly Register*, one of the most influential journals of the nineteenth century was not only a newspaper which published items of national interest but it was also a periodical which printed official documents as well. With these standards in mind, Hezekiah Niles set out to make the *Register* a work of increasing value with the passage of the years. Not only did he usually present both sides of a controversial issue but he never allowed the fear of public displeasure of his policies to alter his editorial course. This book, therefore, when viewed with these facts in mind, proves to be a character sketch of its first publisher and most important owner, Hezekiah Niles.

Mr. Luxon analyzes Niles' treatment of the most important issues of the first half of nineteenth century America. On the two great important economic questions, those of the Bank and the tariff, Luxon shows how Niles marshalled his arguments in favor of economic independence and

free trade. In political affairs, Niles faithfully chronicled ten presidential election campaigns impartially and without personal attacks against any of the candidates. Toward Great Britain, Niles had nothing but outspoken hatred which directly influenced American attitude. The West, which Niles regarded as the hope of the nation, received a favorable picture, and consequently, the forces which contributed to its opening may be gleaned from the pages of the *Register*. Closely connected with the opening of the West was Niles' advocacy of the system of internal improvements which he regarded as necessary to bind all sections of the country more closely together. Lastly, Niles' hatred of slavery marked him as an opponent of the institution but not such a fanatic as an abolitionist. Hence, Mr. Luxon weaves a skillful narrative to prove his thesis that the *Register* was one of the most reliable, accurate, useful, and valuable sources of information regarding nineteenth century America.

Mr. Luxon has written an extremely valuable study which is both scholarly and critical of a hitherto neglected figure and news magazine in American history. Not only is the study heavily documented from the *Register* itself but it also reveals a tremendous amount of research. His chapters on "The *Register* and the Historian," and "Critical Essay on Authorities" are especially noteworthy. Maryland readers will be surprised to find that little attention has been given to Niles' Baltimore contacts. The volume is, nevertheless, one of the better contributions of American historians within the past few years.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*A Century of Silver, 1847-1947.* By EARL CHAPIN MAY. New York: McBride & Co., N. Y. 388 pp. \$3.50.

While *A Century of Silver* was written in connection with the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the International Silver Company which stems from 1847, producers of silverware, it nevertheless covers a much wider field. The author, who in previous books has touched on the Maryland scene (particularly in his "Principio to Wheeling" previously reviewed in this magazine), is highly successful in recreating the background of earlier days and presenting it in a manner which steadily holds the interest of the general reader.

The present volume which is chiefly concerned with the production of silver in Connecticut, starts off its main theme with the Rogers Brothers in 1847, and runs through a pewter era, silverplating, Britannia ware, sterling silver inlay and the various other changes in public taste and styles and methods of manufacture that have taken place over the years. However the story is tied in with so much human interest and intriguing anecdotes, from the time that silver was peddled from door to door, that the result is to create a volume which will achieve high and lasting acceptance in its field. Obviously the research work necessary for its

production required long and meticulous labor. The book is well and interestingly illustrated and is fully indexed.

H. FINDLAY FRENCH

*The Dorsey Family; Descendants of Edward Darcy—Dorsey of Virginia and Maryland and Allied Families.* By MAXWELL J. DORSEY, JEAN MUIR DORSEY and NANNIE BALL NIMMO. [Privately printed, 1947]. 270 pp. \$10.

One of Maryland's eminent and most honored citizens, now deceased, found the time, in addition to his activities in the financial world and in political life, to devote an appreciable amount of attention to the study of his paternal and maternal lineages, of which he was justly very proud. The allied family of Dorsey particularly interested him and it was rumored that he was wont to question, sometimes, applicants for positions with the great corporation which he headed concerning their own "background" and, if an applicant could rightly claim a Dorsey blood-relationship, that applicant would always be accorded preferential consideration.

At last, we have a genealogy of the Dorsey family of Maryland that is worthy of the title. The contents of this book evince an extraordinary amount of research work and considerable skill in setting forth the results in an orderly and lucid manner. References to authorities for pedigrees of the several branches of the family derived from Edward Dorsey, the immigrant, and the personal history of many of his descendants are carefully documented. There is a copious index of names, which adds to the value of the book.

This compilation of the Dorsey and Allied Families is remarkable in several ways. In the first place, it makes no vain attempt to pin the names of the pioneer American ancestors on the "tails" of apocryphal British progenitors of high rank and station. But, on the other hand, it does not mention the fact that the allied Matthew Howard family of Virginia and Maryland possessed and used in Maryland, as far back as 1695, a seal bearing the armorial devices of the *original* arms of the ancient house of Howard of County Norfolk, England, from which the Dukes of Norfolk also are derived; but our Matthew Howard, Sr., definitely did not belong to the ducal branch and, it should be added, his parentage is a moot genealogical problem.

Another remarkable feature of this book is the photographic reproductions of the signatures of the three sons of Edward Dorsey, the immigrant, beginning with that of Joshua in 1687, all of whom spelled the name "Dorsey" as it is spelled today. In old public documents, however, due to the whimsies of Court Clerks, etc., several variants of this surname appear such as: Darcy, Darsey, Dascey, Dawsey, Dorcey, Dorcy and Dorsy.

A photo-copy from the original Parish Register of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, showing that on "8 April 1708, John Dorsey married Honor



Sta——" (part of name crumbled away), refutes the common tradition that he married Honor "Elder" and confirms the belief that "Stafford" is here intended. A facsimile of an original Dorsey patent of land, photo-copies of original wills, of signatures and seals, maps showing in detail the locations of the plantations of the early members of the Dorsey family, pictures of old homes of the family and of some belonging to living descendants, pedigree charts, etc., embellish and also add to the value of the book.

A section of the book is dedicated to the allied families of Wyatt, Todd, Elder, Howard, Rockhould and Norwood. In the case of the last named family, page 202, there is a typographical error in the fourth paragraph, second line, where the year 1756 should be 1657. Mr. and Mrs. Dorsey, of Urbana, Illinois, and Mrs. Nimmo of Baltimore, Maryland, the co-authors of this genealogy, are to be congratulated on the successful completion of their several years' labor.

FRANCIS B. CULVER

*Elizabeth W. Woodcock of Chatillon: A Story of a Good Life.* By A. W. W. WOODCOCK. Salisbury, Md.: [Salisbury Md.: Privately Printed, 1947.] 117 pp.

In recounting the remarkable life of his cultured and talented sister, General Woodcock has presented an excellent tribute to this fine example of American womanhood and broadly, by implication, to all fine womanhood, who contribute so much to our American life.

Miss "Wilsie" Woodcock's life was one of constant giving to community, church and society while she was represented quietly in the larger field of state and nation by what she put of herself in others. Her love and sympathetic helpfulness extended to all people and even to the small life of the wood, to flowers and to the flowing stream.

Her successful brother, who has won distinction in state and nation as soldier, jurist, educator and member of a Presidential official family, gratefully acknowledges her tireless help and good counsel.

Incidentally, General Woodcock's book gives us an excellent insight during the last half century into the life and times of the progressive Eastern Shore city of Salisbury.

The volume is neatly bound and well printed on fine paper stock.

CARLYLE R. EARP

*The History and Present State of Virginia.* By ROBERT BEVERLEY. Edited with an Introduction by Louis B. Wright. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill: 1947. 366 p. \$4.

To those who have never had the opportunity of reading this book in the editions of 1705, 1722 or 1855—and this means nearly everybody—this volume brings surprise and delight. Not content with describing the history of Virginia for its first ninety years, Beverley included detailed accounts of the country and its products, of the Indians and of the customs and practices of the transplanted English in the new land. Written with simplicity, a natural feeling for the right word and no little grace, the book is a revelation of the impact of American life on the English colonists. It should be in the library of everyone interested in the beginnings of our country.

To Marylanders Beverley's account has much suggestiveness. Since little Maryland history was written prior to the 19th century, there is a dearth of information about living conditions in Maryland before the middle of the 18th century. It is safe to conclude that the following passage describes the situation in both provinces, as of 1705: "The Private Buildings are of late very much improved; several Gentlemen there, having built themselves large Brick Houses of many Rooms on a Floor and several Stories high. . . . Of late they have made their Stories much higher than formerly and their windows large and sasht with Crystal Glass." Many other passages, equally informative and suggestive, might be cited.

J. W. F.

*Conserving Pennsylvania's Historical Heritage.* By SYLVESTER K. STEVENS and DONALD H. KENT, Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947. 64 p.

This is a general description of historical properties owned by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and of the activities of the Historical Commission. The State owns eleven properties, preserved and administered for public instruction and enjoyment by the Commission. Historic places controlled by other branches of the State government are not included here—for example, Valley Forge Park. The Commission also conducts archaeological investigations, carries on archival work, publishes both scholarly and popular works, places historical markers and maintains the State Museum. "The commission gives particular attention to promoting the study of Pennsylvania history in the schools, to encouraging civic organizations to use it in their programs, and to stimulating research in Pennsylvania history. Therefore, numerous popular and scholarly publications are made available, and research and editorial work to compile, prepare and edit such publications are a major activity. In all this varied program the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission has been

striving to preserve Pennsylvania's historic hertiage, and to make it a source of inspiration and enlightenment to the people."

Maryland might profit by adopting a similar program. Teachers and civic societies of Maryland are knocking at the door of the Maryland Historical Society to ask for services which only a state institution or heavily endowed society can perform.

J. W. F.

*Anthony's History of the Battle of Hanover (York County, Pennsylvania)*

. . . Compiled from Writings of George R. Prowell and Others. By

WILLIAM ANTHONY. Hanover Pa.: the Author, 1945. 160 p. \$3.00.

The author of this interesting work gives authority (General Pleasanton) for the assertion that the battle of Hanover—the first important engagement of the Civil War fought on "free" soil—had a decisive effect on the outcome of the battle of Gettysburg. Be this as it may, Mr. Anthony's work is a valuable contribution to Civil War history. A great deal of material bearing on the battle of Hanover has been collected and published under one cover. Chapter 1 is devoted to the late Mr. Prowell's history of the battle. It is preceded by a short biography of Mr. Prowell. The remainder of the work is devoted largely to newspaper accounts of the battle and to reminiscences. The illustrations, which include a number of old photographs and wood-cuts, are noteworthy, and greatly enhance the charm of the book.

W. B. MARYE

#### OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*Illustrated History and Guide Book to St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis . . .*

By WALTER B. NORRIS. [Annapolis:] Published by St. Anne's Parish, 1947. 30 p.

*Economic Survey of Allegany County, Maryland.* (Studies in Business and Economics, Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1947). College Park, Md.: Bureau of Business and Economics Research, University of Maryland, 1947. 126 p.

*Leisure Lore of Baltimore:* A list of leisure time facilities, recreation and education activities . . . Baltimore Council of Social Agencies, 1947. 52 p. 10 cents.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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### LAUNCHING OF THE CONSTELLATION AT BALTIMORE, SEPTEMBER 7, 1797

The 150th anniversary of a stirring event in Baltimore history has just been marked. The *Federal Gazette* of September 7, 1797, printed a glowing account of the launching of the first vessel of the new United States fleet:

"This morning precisely at 9 o'clock, at the navy-yard of major Stodder, the builder, was launched, the *United States' frigate, Constellation*. The novelty of the scene, (she being the first frigate ever built at this port) drew forth an immense concourse of citizens, of both sexes, and of all ages; and, notwithstanding the earliness of the hour, appointed for the launch, the number, we are warranted in saying, was never equalled on any occasion, in this place. The surface of the Patapsco was covered with innumerable boats, and the adjacent hills east of Harris's creek, swarmed with spectators; and so admirable too were the situations around, that every one had the pleasure of gratifying his curiosity, without risking the least accident.

"A number of volunteers, in uniform, were admitted on board, while others were set to guard the Yard and permit no one to enter, unless engaged in the business of the day. The workmen, amounting to 200, being thus kept unobstructed, carried on their work with such regularity and dispatch, as reflected the greatest credit both on themselves and their able conductor.—Every order was communicated by a ruffle from the drum, and the operations of the men in wedging up the vessel, &c. were apparently performed with as much exactness and precision, as the manual exercise by a regiment of veterans.

"The anxious moment now arrived—and now description is begged.—Every thing being in the most complete preparation—all the blocks taken away, every man from under the vessel, and the hull standing on almost nothing but the slippery tallow, orders were given for knocking away the last staunchion. This being done, she moved gracefully and majestically down her ways, amidst the silent amazement of thousands of spectators, to her destined element, into which she plunged with such ease and safety, as to make the hills resound with reiterated bursts of joyful acclamations. Her plunge into the water was attended with so little velocity, that she came to anchor within 100 yards of the shore, and we can pronounce, from the authority of able and experienced judges, that no vessel was ever taken from the stocks in a more safe and judicious manner than the *CONSTELLATION*; and that no man, on a similar occasion,

ever acquitted himself with more honor and ability, than did major DAVID STODDER."

At last accounts the *Constellation* had been towed from her old berth at Newport to Boston for a complete repair job. In spite of frequent appeals to the Navy for several decades past to return this vessel to Baltimore, present plans call for making her a permanent exhibit in the proposed Naval Museum at Washington, D. C. The photograph on the cover was supplied by the Naval History Division, U. S. Navy.

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#### JOHNS HOPKINS AND THE CONTROVERSY OVER GENERAL WOOL

By JOHN W. MCCAIN, JR.

Concerned with the preservation of peace in Baltimore and with the Union cause, on October 30, 1862, Johns Hopkins, for whom the University is named, addressed a letter to His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, in defense of General Wool whom some were trying to have relieved of his command. This interesting letter is preserved in volume 91, folios 19272-3 of the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of MSS which were reopened at the Library of Congress on July 26, 1947.

Since the substance of Johns Hopkins' letter to the President may be of interest to many citizens of Baltimore, the words of the body of his letter are here quoted in full:

When I had last the pleasure of seeing you, I press'd on you the importance of retaining Genl Wool in his present position here, looking to the preservation of the peace of the City, and the cause of the Union.

Present events which have renewed the efforts of certain parties to remove him, only confirm me in my former convictions: and my object in now addressing you is to throw what weight I can into the scale in favor of his being retained—I am of the opinion that no one whom you could put in his place, could better serve the purposes of the government, in a city whose peace and tranquility at this time are in a great measure owing to his judgement and discretion.

With sentiments of  
the highest regard your  
Servant & friend  
Johns Hopkins

A long letter of ten pages (folios 19274-19282) from Chas. H. Keener, Superintendent of the Maryland Blind Institution, and dated from Baltimore on the same date (Oct. 30, 1862), accuses Gen. Wool at length of gross errors in management, particularly of being imposed on by his so-called friends who really had secessionist sympathies. On October 31, 1862 (folio 19327), G. Warfield of Baltimore also wrote a short letter strongly urging the removal of General Wool.

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*Freedom Train*—The traveling exhibition of historic documents reflecting origins of American liberty and institutions, known as the "FREEDOM TRAIN" will visit Maryland late in November. Former Senator Radcliffe, as representative of the American Association for State and Local History, one of the sponsoring agencies for the exhibition, has announced that the Train will visit Salisbury, Maryland, on November 22 and will be in Baltimore for two days, November 25 and 26.

The American Heritage Foundation, with the support of Attorney-General Tom C. Clarke and the endorsement of President Truman, has assumed the responsibility for the tour of the entire country by the Freedom Train. The program will continue for at least a year and more than 300 cities and towns in all parts of the country will be visited. Expenses will be paid by the Foundation, which is financed by industry, labor, private citizens and organizations. Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich, Chairman of the Board of the Foundation, has announced that 98 documents will be included in the exhibition. Among them will be the Mayflower Compact, letters and papers of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and the MS of the Star Spangled Banner, owned by the Walters Art Gallery of Baltimore. The tour opens in Philadelphia on September 17. The staff will consist of 34 persons in addition to a guard of 27 Marines. The purpose of the Train is to awaken the people to a realization of the liberties we enjoy and the means by which they were accomplished, and to encourage a rededication to the principles on which the Union has been erected.

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*Silver Service of U. S. S. Maryland*—Vice Admiral Harry W. Hill, who was the principal speaker at the meeting of the Society on July 2 when, on behalf of the Navy, he turned over to the Society the keeping of the silver service presented to the Cruiser *Maryland* in 1906 by the people of the state, writes as follows:

"I assure you it was a great honor, as well as a real pleasure for me to have been with you on the occasion of the presentation of the Maryland Silver Service to the Historical Society. I am glad it has been deposited there where it can be enjoyed by so many, as it portrays so beautifully much of the history and tradition of Maryland. My association with this service has convinced me of the value of tradition to our every day lives, and I appreciate the fine work your Society is performing in encouraging the continued interest in these matters by the younger generation. I hope that the presence of this silver will also serve as a reminder of the outstanding records established in both peace and in war by the two naval vessels bearing the name of MARYLAND. You can well be proud of them."

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*Tercentenary of the Death of Governor Leonard Calvert*.—The untimely death on June 9, 1647, of Maryland's first governor, is recalled in a

letter to the Society from Rev. Herman I. Storck, S. J., of St. Ignatius Church, St. Thomas Manor, Charles County. Though the Governor was a progenitor of thousands of Americans, many of whom bear the name Calvert and live in states of the West and South, he is one of the least known figures of early Maryland history. Some of his official acts, a few letters—these are all that remain to indicate his character. These, as historians tell us, are entirely to his credit. The Calvert name is perpetuated today more widely through him, an adopted American, than through his brother, the noble lord, Cecil, the second Baron Baltimore, who never set foot in Maryland.

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*Home for Washington County Historical Society*—In 1944 the original stone house of the founder of Hagerstown, "Hager's Fancy," was acquired by the Society. Believed to have been built before the French and Indian War, this dwelling is historically interesting as an example of the frontier house-fort. It stands over two springs, adjacent to the City Park. The Society has raised \$2,700 toward the cost of the property and its restoration. The City of Hagerstown has cooperated by assisting in the purchase and plans for developing this historic monument. Mrs. Frank W. Mish, Jr. is president of the Washington County Historical Society and Mr. Simms Jamieson is chairman of the Committee on Restoration.

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*Restoration of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Wye Mills*—Rev. Thomas Donaldson, a member of the Society, has announced plans for the restoration to its original state of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church, Talbot County. While the building has been maintained in reasonably good condition, many alterations have been made in the course of the years. It is proposed to carry out thorough restoration. The architects of the project are Perry, Shaw and Hepburn of Boston, who planned and carried out the reconstruction of Williamsburg, Virginia. Some difficulty is being experienced in finding documentary description of the interior of St. Luke's. Any members, or others, having a knowledge of written records relating to the arrangement of chancel, pulpit, pews, etc. are requested to notify Mr. Donaldson at Centreville, Maryland.

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*The Business History Foundation, Inc.*—A new research organization in the field of business history has recently been established, the Business History Foundation, Inc. Chartered under the law of New York as a non-profit organization, the Foundation is designed to carry on and facilitate research in the history of business and to assist in the publication of the results of such research. It will be financed by gifts from individuals, institutions, and companies. The Foundation is an outgrowth of the

research in the history of business that has in the past two decades been carried on under the direction of Professor N. S. B. Gras at the Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University.

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CORRECTION: "*The Hermitage*"—The reference to "*The Hermitage*" as located in Kent County, occurring in footnote 6, page 72 of the *Magazine* for last June was, of course, erroneous. Prior to the erection of Queen Anne's County in 1706, "*The Hermitage*" was in Talbot County.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS

DR. McELROY is one of the best known American historians of his generation. After being head of the Department of History at Princeton University and first exchange Professor to China, he held the Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth professorship of American History, Oxford University, 1925-1939, and the Sir George Watson professorship in British Universities. He has lectured in many universities of the world. He is the author of a number of standard works. He now lives in Baltimore. ☆ DR. ALEXANDER is a native of New York City, a graduate of Columbia University and holder of a doctorate in history from the University of Pennsylvania. He is engaged in a study of the Continental Army and the various state militias and has been a contributor to several historical society journals. ☆ Professor of literature at Hart College, Staten Island, N. Y., DR. EVERSON is the author of a biography of the Maryland-born writer whose letters she edited for this issue. ☆ DR. SANDERLIN is assistant professor of American History at Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. He is the author of a recent history of the C. and O. Canal and of contributions to other historical magazines. ☆ Descended from a Charles County, Md., line, MR. MARTIN is the compiler of a genealogy of the Thorne family now in course of preparation. He is an auditor in the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.